Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-154
Thursday
10 August 1995

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FBIS-EEU-95-154 *10 August 1995*

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Bosnian Serb To Stand Trial for War Crimes

AU1008111195 Paris AFP in English
1046 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Aug 10 (AFP)—The international criminal tribunal for the former Yugoslavia ruled Thursday [10 August] that it was competent to try Dusko Tadic, a Bosnian Serb, on charges of war crimes.

His trial, however, is not expected to open before October as several issues raised by his defense team still must be considered by the UN court.

Tadic, 39, is the only Yugoslav war crimes suspect in UN custody. He is accused of having killed at least 13 Bosnian Moslems, and of beating, torturing and raping others.

The court also ruled Thursday that witnesses expected to testify during the trial would be granted protection. Some of the witnesses, including a woman who says she was raped by Tadic, had said they would only testify behind closed doors, or through a video camera that would distort their image to protect their identity.

Tadic's defense had challenged the competency of the court in trying him, arguing that the tribunal should have been created by the UN General Assembly rather than the UN Security Council.

They also said the primacy of the tribunal over national jurisdiction amounted to an infringement of the sovereignty of states.

But Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, who presided over the court hearing Thursday, struck down both arguments, saying they were not justified.

"The Trial Chamber found that it lacked competence to review the decision of the Security Council to establish the Tribunal and that the question of the appropriateness of establishing the Tribunal raises non-justiciable issues which are not subject to judicial review," McDonald, who is American, said.

Tadic's attorney, Michael Wladimiroff, said after the hearing that he was not surprised by the decision.

"Let's face it, it was very unlikely that they would directly say they have no jurisdiction, that's it and let's go home," he said, adding that he would "most likely" appeal the ruling as he felt the court was setting its own rules.

"There are many reasons to appeal, not just for the sake of Mr. Tadic, but for the sake of making case-law in this first case," he said.

Tadic was arrested in February 1994 in Munich. He is the first—and to date the only—suspect in United Nations custody.

The tribunal has also indicted Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his military chief Ratko Mladic on charges of genocide and crimes against humanity.

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Iraqi Minister's Visit 'Postponed Indefinitely'

AU1008105195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As we have announced in our previous news programs, General Husayn Kamil Hasan, deputy prime minister and minister of industry of Iraq, was expected to arrive here on an official visit today.

According to information from the interim charge d'affaires at the Bulgarian Embassy in Baghdad, this visit has been postponed indefinitely. The charge d'affaires learned this news following a meeting with the Iraqi foreign minister.

Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandrov Replaced

AU0908154395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Foreign Ministry has announced that, under an order issued by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, the application of Deputy Foreign Minister Stanimir Aleksandrov to be relieved of his duties for personal reasons is approved as of today. An order signed by the prime minister appoints Mrs. Irina Bokova to the same post as of today. Previously Mrs. Bokova served as a first secretary at the Council of Ministers, dealing with European integration issues. She was also chairman of the Coordination Commission on European Integration.

Zhelev Sets 29 Oct as Date for Local Elections

AU1008093995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Report from the Presidential Press Center]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev today issued a decree setting 29 October as the date for holding the elections of mayors and municipal councillors.

In a further decree, President Zhelev made certain changes in the membership of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC). Justice Minister Mladen Chervenyakov, who was appointed to the CEC from the Bulgarian Socialist Party's quota, is relieved and replaced by Plamen Kirov. Zlatka Ruseva will replace Reneta Minkova, appointed from the People's Union's quota. In the quota of members nominated by the Rights and Freedoms Movement, Yordan Vardov and Tanya Neykova-Raykovska are relieved, being replaced by Kadir Kadir and (?Selin Solakova).

In a third decree, the president fixed the remunerations of the CEC members.

Military Council Appoints New Inspectorate Chief

AU0908135395 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 5 Aug 95 p 3

[Report by Ognyan Stefanov: "General Petko Prokopiev Appointed Chief of the New Inspectorate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Colonel General Petko Prokopiev will head the newly formed Inspectorate, the Supreme Military Council decided at its meeting on 4 August. The council applied to Supreme Commander in Chief Zhelyu Zhelev to sign a decree relieving Gen. Prokopiev from his erstwhile post of first deputy chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff.

General Boris Vakavliev emerged as the most likely candidate for the vacated post in the General Staff. Until now he has served as chief of the Department for Youth Training Prior to Conscription. Last year Gen. Vakavliev applied to leave the army, but President Zhelev refused to sign the decree releasing him.

The Inspectorate, which was reinstated by the National Assembly two weeks ago, will start work on 1 September. Its staff, which includes nine generals, 21 colonels, and 15 civilian employees, will inspect both servicemen and civilians in the army. The council decided that no officers below the rank of major will be allowed to serve in the Inspectorate.

The Supreme Military Council also decided yesterday to appoint General Tsanko Dolenski commander of the First Army. Previously Gen. Dolenski was in command of the Blagoevgrad Division.

It emerged from yesterday's meeting that over 1,000 officers will be affected by the autumn postings. However, those attending the meeting refused to announce details of postings of top Army staff before all the decrees have been signed. They also pointed out that in any case, the transfers were not final.

Commission Chairman on Foreign Policy Coordination

AU0908140295 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 5 Aug 95 pp 12-13

[Interview with Nikolay Kamov, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission, by Ivo Indzhov; place and date not given: "Our Foreign Policy Can Be 'Coordinated' Over a Cup of Coffee"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Indzhov] Mr. Kamov, your commission proposed to National Assembly Chairman Sendov that he begin a dialogue among the president, the prime minister, and the chairman of the parliament

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on developing a mechanism for implementing the country's foreign policy. Do you think this goal will be attained before the end of the year?

[Kamov] A lack of coordination between the state institutions hinders the implementation of an effective foreign policy. It is necessary to create a mechanism to forestall disharmony between the president, cabinet, and parliament and prevent internal political differences from affecting our foreign policy.

[Indzhov] How do you see such a mechanism operating? Can expanded meetings of the Foreign Policy and National Security Commission with the participation of the president, prime minister, chiefs of the security services, and others provide a basis for it, or should the president's Consultative Council on National Security serve as a prototype?

[Kamov] I do not think the consultative council can perform this function, as it is not empowered to adopt decisions, but merely to offer recommendations. Furthermore, it would not be able to ensure full coordination, because the coordination should be continuous in nature.

[Indzhov] How might the three "chiefs" of foreign policy outline its main directions?

[Kamov] My own suggestion is very simple. This could be achieved if the three statesmen met periodically over a cup of coffee to coordinate their actions on the most important foreign policy issues. [passage omitted] [Indzhov] One has the impression that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] government, while laying emphasis on economic issues in foreign policy, is turning its back on many other important problems, such as our relations with NATO, the position of the Bulgarian minorities in neighboring countries, and so on.

[Kamov] Both the Foreign Policy Commission and the BSP government propose a very clear policy on protecting the rights of Bulgarians abroad, especially those living in neighboring countries.

At a special meeting to hear the report of the Agency for Bulgarians Abroad, our commission adopted a decision and proposed the drafting of a national strategy regarding Bulgarians abroad. It was established that for almost a century, Bulgaria has possessed no policy on this issue. We approached the government suggesting that the Agency for Bulgarians Abroad, as a specialized state body, be entrusted with drafting this strategy.

[Indzhov] No public consensus exists regarding Bulgaria's Balkan policy. I recall the idea proposed by Stoyan Ganev that Bulgaria should mediate to settle the dispute between Greece and Turkey, or President Zhelev's proposal to hold a Balkan meeting in Sofia with the U.S. Secretary of State taking part....

[Kamov] I do not think there is any sense in discussing Stoyan Ganev's unfortunate idea. As for President Zhelev's suggestion, which he made during his visit to the United States, it surprised not only our government but also his U.S. hosts. One does not hold consultations on foreign policy initiatives in this manner.

[Indzhov] Why did the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group thwart the declaration proposed last May on Bulgaria's readiness to join NATO, and refuse to allow a parliamentary debate on it?

[Kamov] I would not agree with your description of this as a thwarted issue. In my view, during April and May there was no reason to suddenly provoke such a heated debate in the country on the issue of joining NATO. I am not a naive person. It is clear to me that the purpose was to present the Socialist government's policy as one aimed at revising the main priorities in the country's foreign orientation. This was an action aimed at transferring domestic policy differences into the foreign policy field. It was a debate of no benefit to our interests. This is so because, first, we already have a position that we reached by consensus. I refer to the declaration on our relations with NATO that the parliament adopted in December 1993 in connection with our participation in the Partnership for Peace Initiative. Second, I say this because an extremely intensive process of change is under way within NATO's own structures. In September, a special discussion will open on defining the future of NATO, and its transformation.

Bulgaria's problem is to obtain guarantees for our national security. For this reason, after holding consultations on the draft declaration, we reached the conclusion that we will return to this issue at a suitable time in the autumn, when the process of transformation within NATO itself becomes clearer. We can then—I hope—reach a well-considered and nationally responsible decision.

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Ministry: Croats' Rocket Launchers Not Czech

LD0908124095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Defense Ministry says the report of London military experts claiming that the Croatian Army has at its disposal rocket launchers from the Czech Republic is quite wrong. The ministry says this type of rocket launcher neither is produced in the Czech Republic nor does the Czech Army possess any.

Prosecution for Treason Over 1968 Events Halted

AU0908143495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 8 August on pages 1 and 2 carries two reports on treason charges brought against some 20 former high-ranking officials by the Bureau for the Investigation and Documentation of the Crimes of Communism in connection with the events of August 1968. The first of these, a 450-word report by Radek Adamec on page 1, reports that "the municipal Office of the State Attorney has halted the prosecution for high treason of communist officials Karel Hoffmann, Milous Jakes, Jan Piller, Zbynek Sojak, and Jozef Lenart." According to Josef Kredba, head of the Prague Office of the State Attorney, "the complaints only stated the case, without any specification of the offense committed" and Kredba adds that "the accused must be told what offense he committed and where and when he committed it."

The second is a 400-word report by the same author on charges brought by the Bureau for the Investigation and Documentation of the Crimes of Communism against six other people. The investigator charged five top-ranking officials of the former National Security Corps (SNB). "According to a CTK [Czech News Agency] source, Jan Bokr (1926), Josef Houska (1924), Jaroslav Klima (1921), Albin Kozuch (1924), and Zdenek Zlabek (1925) are accused of high treason. They are charged with thwarting and hampering an important task of the Armed Forces, assisting in the occupation of the Interior Ministry building in Prague..., and interfering with the work of the media in connection with the broadcast of a statement by the CSSR leadership of back then." The sixth suspect's charges were not cited, as he is currently on holiday outside the Republic. "He will be detained and charged at the border upon his return," the report says.

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Much Reaction Over Kovac U.S. Message Noted

LD0908225995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The statement made by Slovak President Michal Kovac during his visit to the United States has provoked a great deal of reaction both at home and abroad. Here is the Slovak news agency [TASR] roundup:

According to Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH], this statement confirms the experiences gained during his recent visit to the United States. During a news conference in Bratislava, Bugar said, in this context, that it would be sad to connect the recent visit of the Hungarian deputies and the current visit of the president in order to discredit the head of state. Bela Bugar also said that the government ought to change the style of its policies and reach some consensus with the opposition parties. [passage omitted]

Pavel Delinga, chairman of the Farmers' Party of Slovakia [RSS], sees certain similarities between the recent visits made by the Hungarian coalition representatives and President Kovac to the United States and the preparations of the parliamentary takeover of March 1994. As he pointed out in the statement for TASR, the negation of all government and parliamentary policies provided a platform for a wide attack on the coalition, the government and the deputies. The RSS calls on the president to remember that he should be an unbiased and apolitical representative of Slovakia, particularly abroad.

The Communist Party of Slovakia [KSS] has voiced a strong protest against the way President Michal Kovac has represented Slovakia during his visit to the United States. The statement of the presidium of the KSS central committee asks the president to resign.

Presidential Spokesman Interviewed on U.S. Visit

LD0908221495 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement made yesterday by Slovak President Michal Kovac and broadcast on the Slovak radio lunchtime news bulletin made a substantial impact. This afternoon, presidential spokesman Vladimir Stefko returned from the United States and gave an exclusive interview on this matter to the Slovak television evening news.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] It is 1600, and a little while ago you returned from your visit to the United States where you accompanied Slovak President Michal Kovac. His statement for the Slovak radio lunchtime bulletin provoked a stormy response. Who on the American side took part in the talks?

[Stefko] The following people took part on the American side: Mr. (Fried), President Clinton's special assistant on Central and East Europe; Mr. (Kornblum), a White House representatives; and Mr. (Kruzel), a Pentagon representative. They are all high-ranking officials.

I would not describe this meeting as official talks. It was not a classic official, diplomatic meeting. It was a working lunch during which the three gentlemen said what they did and what the president interpreted for Slovak radio. As a witness, I can say that the president has not misinterpreted anything that was said by the U.S. party during this working lunch.

[Correspondent] According to the information available, the lunch was attended by low-ranking government officials. Where did these officials receive a mandate to express their concern and,via the head of state,address Prime Minister Meciar, parliament speaker Gasparovic, and the parliamentary parties?

[Stefko] It is difficult to say whether or not they had a mandate. Naturally, I did not scrutinize that, and I do not know whether or not they had a mandate. Undoubtedly, if they took part in such a working lunch with the head of state they must have had some approval from their superiors.

The interpretations suggesting that they have passed on certain messages are not completely accurate. Simply speaking, they expressed their knowledge of, and experiences with, the Slovak political, economic, and overall situation. To numerous concerns raised—if I may put it that way—the president has responded by saying that these aspects need not be overestimated, that these matters will be resolved and that the situation in Slovakia is neither critical nor dramatic. He has also mentioned a lot of recent positive achievements of the Slovak Republic, adding the praise of the Slovak Government and parliament. [end recording]

New Radio Correspondent Leaves for Washington

AU0908145295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by "isa": "Slovak Radio Has Again Filled the Correspondent Post in Washington"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The engagement of Peter Susko as Slovak Radio correspondent in Washington ended on 31 March. Several observers have put this decision in context with the visit of the government and businessmen delegation to Cleveland. Slovak Radio director Jan Tuzinsky rejected any connection between

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critical comments by Peter Susko about this and his recall. Tuzinsky argued that the intention was to close down the post in the United States for economic reasons and possibly use a joint correspondent for Slovak Radio, Slovak Television, and TASR. At the same time, he said the continuation of four other correspondents' posts abroad would also be reconsidered. In the meantime, however, Slovak Radio continued to pay rent for an unused apartment ($5,000 for the four months).

On 5 July, Slovak Radio's management announced that it would be filling the post again from 1 August. Ivo Kunsch, a long standing employee of the International Events Office, has left for Washington. He has been on several short-term assignments abroad, including one at the BBC, so he is a seasoned professional. Another question is: What happened to the economic reasons for the closure of the Washington correspondent's post as used by Tuzinsky as an argument during the critical period?

Awarding of Journalism Prizes by Meciar Criticized

AU0908141595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 3 August, under the headline "The Ludovit Stur Prize Was Awarded To SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA Too," carries a 500-word report by Dagmar Belakova on the presentation of Ludovit Stur awards in appreciation of the "creative work of the mass media and individuals in promoting the Slovak Republic and bolstering its statehood." The recipients were nominated by the Association of Slovak Journalists Council, and the awards were conferred by the Slovak Government and presented by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on 2 August. According to the report, the main criterion for the award was the share of the mass media and individuals in the "gainful national-state transformation of Slovak journalism under the conditions of the democratic changes" in society. Among the editorial offices awarded prizes were that of SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, which was awarded first prize, and those of the weeklies ZMENA and EXTRA and the magazine POLITIKA, all of which were awarded third prize. Individuals—among them Gabo Zelenay, Bronislav Tesarik, Viera Urbanova, Imrich Demovic, Jozef Darmo, Jarmila Tosecka, Dusan Slobodnik, Roman Hofbauer, Michal Krisko, and Dusan Tropp—also received awards. Belakova concludes her report by quoting from the speech by Vladimir Meciar at the award ceremony. He said the following: "We want to accentuate our own identity. We are returning to Saints Cyril and Methodius and to the Sturites. Language is a major instrument. Therefore, people working with language have a great responsibility." According to the report, the prime minister then congratulated all of the "masters of the quill and expression."

Bratislava SME/SMENA and PRAVDA in Slovak on 4 August both carry commentaries on the aforementioned award ceremony. Lubomir Lintner's 600-word commentary in SME/SMENA, which appears on page 4 under the headline "Stur Must Be Spinning in His Grave," asks "what kind of signal have we sent to the world?" He is critical of the awards to SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, which according to him is "a newspaper whose chief editor was shown publicly to have committed plagiarism," and to the weekly ZMENA, which was ordered by a court to "pay a fine and apologize for its anti-Semitic articles."

In PRAVDA, Marian Lesko says in his 500-word commentary, which is carried on page 4 under the headline "Their Own Gave To Their Own," that, although the "main criterion" for the award to SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA is known, "no one must think that the daily got the award because it is owned by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) or because it publishes the HZDS weekly as a supplement. No, the award expresses its share in the 'gainful transformation of Slovak journalism.' If, for example, yesterday's HZDS weekly in SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA published a letter from a 17-year-old youth who wrote to the head of state that, 'among citizens, you have brought upon yourself the 'appraisal' President Traitor (and not just any president, but a corrupt one!),' it is obvious what kind of 'gainful transformation' this involves." Regarding the weekly ZMENA, he says: "The fact that ZMENA lost a court case with a man who said that it is anti-Semitic, confirms that, so far, it has raised Slovak conditions to the level of world conditions merely by spreading racial prejudices and intolerance. It is certain that ZMENA's elevating endeavors have not been exhausted and that the prize it received can only encourage it."

The two commentators are also critical of the "individual" award winners. Lintner writes that "among the prize winners there is also a man who can take pride in a preeminence in Slovakia that is perhaps unique—awards have been conferred upon him by the president of the Slovak State J. Tiso and Prime Minister V. Meciar." According to Lesko, "even Roman Hofbauer did not become a laureate for his years-long contributions to the movement and the government but because, as a columnist, he bears in mind the principle that the prime minister also talked about: 'People working with language also have great responsibility.' The U.S. Embassy in Slovakia claims in an official statement that in his commentaries, Mr. Hofbauer spreads 'gross disinformation about the United States and its policy,' that he has demonstrated 'a regrettable ignorance of how the inde-

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pendent press in a democratic society works,' but this will be because the gentlemen from the embassy have bad taste from home—as opposed to the Association of Slovak Journalists and the Slovak Government, who can still appreciate responsibility and quality." Lesko concludes his commentary by saying "when their own people award their own people, all the others can at least say: We have acquitted ourselves honorably. We did not get a prize."

Article Views Privatization Principles

95CH0266C Bratislava TREND in Slovak 17 May 95 p 3B

[Article by Jozef Hajko: "The Ministry of Privatization Intends To Issue the Majority of Employee Shares to Management"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The ministry for the administration and privatization of national property in the Slovak Republic has worked out principles according to which employees are to participate in the privatization of enterprises. The principles are to be approved by the Government of the Slovak Republic.*

According to the creators of the material in question, the purpose of working out the principles is the "urgency to solve the participation of employees in the privatization of enterprises in which they work." The endeavors of the ministry for the administration and privatization of national property in the Slovak Republic are aimed at "ensuring a greater degree of social acceptance for the process of privatization and the economy in privatized enterprises in which the employees of enterprises will participate."

The creators of the material in question do not consider coupon privatization to be one of the possible forms for the participation of employees in privatization "because privatization does not address the relationship between the employee and the privatized enterprise," nor do they consider it to be one of the alternatives in involving citizens working in transformed enterprises in the privatization process. They add that the coupon method "can be realized through the sale of the unrealized portion of property left over as a result of the second wave of privatization." The principles also outline the goals to be achieved through employee participation in privatization. The transformation of ownership relationships is supposed to increase the material interest of employees in the economic results of the enterprise. The creators of the material anticipate that, "to a considerable extent, the pressure to increase wages is eliminated," by dint of the fact that "employees will acquire additional income in the form of dividends." According to their considerations, the circle of shareholders should stabilize and, in certain cases, employee savings could be mobilized to be used for developmental programs operated by the privatized corporation.

The creators of the principles intend to achieve the involvement of employees in the privatization of their own enterprise in two ways: through the sale of the enterprise or any of its portions to a commercial corporation established by the employees or through the sale of employee shares. The first form by which employees of a transformed enterprise could participate in its privatization is outlined in the principles worked out as the sale of an enterprise or its portion to a commercial corporation established by the enterprise's own employees. The creators of the material differentiate between two methods of applying this approach.

One method involves the sale of the enterprise to a commercial corporation established by management. As outlined in the adjusted statutes, their corporation is supposed to issue securities to its own employees after it acquires the property. The justification for such an approach is seen by the Ministry of Privatization "in a higher degree of professionality of management, which has at its disposal the necessary information on production, economic, and marketing opportunities of the privatized enterprise and is capable of taking care of its development in a shorter period of time than another legal entity." This is the method used by the ministry to justify giving priority to the rights of management employees over other employees.

The second method involves the sale of the enterprise or its parts to an employee stock corporation. The term employee stock corporation (this term does not exist in Slovak legislation) is understood by the ministry to be a stock corporation established by the employees of an enterprise that is competing for the transformed property.

According to the creators of the principles, the basic capitalization in an employee stock corporation should be divided among top management, middle management, and rank-and-file employees. It should fulfill the conditions for securing the management of the corporation so that "economic authorities would not be scattered among a broad circle of stockholders."

In evaluating the advantages of privatizing an enterprise through an employee corporation, the ministry intends to consider the need to restructure and look at the "related influences upon manpower reductions." The objective of the evaluation is to focus on the prerequisites of an employee stock corporation to engage in "flexible management in relationship to the share of securities distributed among management and rank-and-file em-

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ployees," followed by the purchase price, payment, and other conditions.

The ministry does not consider the transformation of ownership relationships through employee stock corporations to represent typical participation by workers in the privatization process because, at the time of the establishment and development of an employee commercial corporation, that corporation has no employees. Individuals do not act as employees in establishing such a corporation, but are joint founders, the ministry admits. The established entity does not compete for the purchase of privatized property until after it has been registered in the Commercial Register. In the event the offer made by such an interested party is accepted, whether or not it will include the rank-and-file employees of the privatized enterprise as coowners is up to the goodwill of the commercial corporation. If the answer is yes, one of the forms can be the issuance of employee shares.

The creators of the principles regard the issuance of employee shares as a more suitable form for employees to participate in the privatization of their own enterprise. This form of property ownership is regulated by the Commercial Code. Holders of employee shares can only be employees of the corporation or retirees who previously worked in the privatized enterprise. Such shares are always registered and their ownership can only be changed within the circle of employees and former employees of the corporation. Ownership rights are extinguished when the working relationship terminates.

An advantage for the acquirer of employee shares is the fact that he is not required to pay the full nominal value for acquiring them. The share of employee securities in the overall basic capitalization of the corporation is not defined by law. But if such shares are sold to employees under advantageous conditions—in other words, at a reduced price—then the total number of such preferentially priced shares is limited: It must not exceed 5 percent of the basic capitalization of the corporation. Securities over and above this limit can be issued to employees, but without being financially advantaged.

Detailed procedures involved in the acquisition, transfer, and surrender of employee shares are specified in the statutes of the stock corporation. The statutes determine the advantages connected with the acquisition of these shares. The number of shares issued in this manner, their nominal value, their purchase price, the method of paying for them (they can even be paid for in multiple-year installments), or the distribution of shares among individual groups of employees (for example, among management and rank-and-file employees) are stipulated in the statutes.

The creators of the principles expect that setting aside shares for employees will be part of privatization projects for enterprises that have not yet been transformed. According to the statutes, the set-aside shares are distributed to employees after the stock corporation comes into being.

The Ministry of Privatization considers the initiative "put forward by the trade union organization of the state enterprise or the employee association of that enterprise" to provide the impetus for including employee shares in privatization projects, as it does with respect to the immediately forthcoming approval by the employees of this form of privatization. Decisions regarding acceptance of the presented requirements will be in the hands of the founder and of the Ministry of Privatization.

The Ministry of Privatization sees the opportunity for issuing employee shares in already existing stock corporations. However, this then already depends on the goodwill of the shareholders; they will have to decide whether to include the employees of the corporation in the ownership relationship.

The creators of t[illegible]inciples consider the rules for creating employee [illegible]ares as defined in the Commercial Code to be "excessively stringent." Because the precise conditions are set in the statutes of individual corporations—and these can differ considerably—they admit that it is not legislatively possible to establish the number of employee shares in the basic capitalization of a corporation. It is not possible to unequivocally determine their nominal value, the financial conditions for their distribution, or other rules. They recommend that limits on the volume of employee shares be set in privatization projects. Also, the limit on the value of shares assigned to an employee should be set.

According to the creators of the principles, the regime according to which future privatization through the use of employee shares is to be accomplished should contain several conditions. The securities should be paid for out of the corporation's profits and out of dividends declared on them. Payments will be broken down into installment payments over a period of 10 to 15 years. If an enterprise is to be privatized only through the use of employee shares, then the share for management should be at least 50.1 percent and 49.9 percent for the rank-and-file employees.

The creators of the principles justify the proposed ratio in the distribution of employee shares in olving individual groups of employees by pointing out that the adoption of proposals at a general assembly is acceptable. They admit that in the event rank-and-file workers were to predominate in matters of corporate property, the intention to restructure the enterprise could

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be threatened, because this is connected with a change in the number and professional structure of its employees.

According to the proposed principles, employees—stockholders—should, establish an employee council, which would be represented on the board of directors and the oversight council of the privatized corporation. The creators of the principles go still further and anticipate that the statutes should specify the decisions that cannot be taken without the presence of the employee council.

According to the Ministry of Privatization, participation by owners of employee shares in the highest organs of the corporation should secure their rights to assert their own interests. The same should be true at general assembly meetings where some of the decisions are subject to approval by a two-thirds majority and, at the same time, require approval by the owners of employee shares. This would act to provide employee stockholders with veto rights, for example, in decisions involving the election of members of corporate organs, decisions regarding changes in the statutes or changes in basic capitalization.

Former Minister Critical of Privatization Process

95CH0266B Bratislava TREND in Slovak 17 May 95 p 3B

[Article by Jozef Hajko: "Ex-Minister L. Dolgos Suggests Privatization Without Money"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Lubomir Dolgos, former minister of privatization, criticizes the current government coalition for permitting the privatization process to become a matter for a few select people. He is making an original proposal calling for the transformation of ownership relationships to be realized without the use of financial resources.*

Lubomir Dolgos assumed the office of minister for the administration and privatization of national property in the Slovak Republic following the parliamentary elections of 1992. In mid-1993 he resigned, and the function of privatization minister was taken over by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar until March of 1994. Dolgos's name is connected with a slowdown in the privatization process in the Slovak Republic, and with a disinclination to assert the coupon method.

Dolgos finds that three stages exist with respect to the present course of privatization in Slovakia, each of which has been characterized by a certain degree of deformation. In the period 1991-92, which he designates as the ideological phase of privatization, he feels that too much emphasis was placed on the act of transferring ownership itself. Less attention was paid to the fact that transformation was supposed to lead to historically verified private ownership of the means of production.

The second phase—after 1992 (which also coincides with his function as the minister)—is characterized by Dolgos as the politicization of privatization. According to Dolgos, the transformation process has reached a stage today in which a narrow circle of individuals makes decisions regarding new owners of state property. He calls this phenomenon the politicization of privatization. A few people, who reached the highest offices on the basis of election results, make no secret of this unnatural situation. They do as they wish and suffer no "pangs of conscience" or any "moral inhibitions." They view their appointments to office, and democracy, in their own way.

Where Dolgos encounters a narrow group of people having great decisionmaking authorities, he is primarily concerned with the higher ranking people within the National Property Fund (FNM) of the Slovak Republic—which, following the recent amendment of the law, enjoys strong powers. Although he defends the idea of anchoring the privatization process—from working out the project all the way through to its realization—in a single institution, given the abovementioned perception of democracy and conduct in carrying out official functions, he considers this concentration to be a negative element today.

A second problem, according to Dolgos, is the abandoning of the principle to protect economic competition. This principle should play an important role in privatization. The Antimonopoly Office of the Slovak Republic has recently been playing a much less important role in economic policy because protection of economic competition is also anchored in the Slovak Constitution. That is why he considers the Antimonopoly Office to be a nonfunctioning institution, a fact that has culminated in the appointment of Pavol Fran to be its chairman.

Does Dolgos see a possibility for rectifying the currently unfavorable status? According to him, this will be a problem in terms of protecting economic competition, because the Antimonopoly Office of the Slovak Republic, which is supposed to consistently monitor this area, is a nonfunctioning entity. It is difficult to expect support from the public because damages resulting from denying the principles of competition are difficult for the public to identify.

On the other hand, in decisive privatization actions, Dolgos feels that interesting the population will be inevitable. Only the public can compel the government authorities to accept the fact that "what is being done in privatization is not a matter of government concern alone." That is why he placed value on establishing a

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Committee To Protect the Rights of Owners of Investment Coupons, which decided to initiate a referendum calling for a sufficient volume and quality of property to be placed in the second round of coupon privatization. He perceives this initiative as a method that will compel the government to make the privatization process more transparent.

Former minister Dolgos values the initiative to adequately assert the second wave of coupon privatization, although he does not prefer this method. Precisely, a short time after he assumed office in 1992, coupon privatization became a mere supplemental method, which has not been used since then in the Slovak Republic.

According to Dolgos, the basic reason why consideration to conduct mass privatization began in 1990 was the disproportion that existed between the great value of state property intended for transformation and the low volume of available resources from domestic sources. Foreign capital could be counted on only for a limited portion of the property being prepared for privatization, and that is why, from the standpoint of privatizing the entire volume of property, it became inevitable to resort to a nonstandard method. He considers the origin of the idea of coupon privatization to fall into this area.

Dolgos considers the idea of indemnifying citizens for past decades of the communist regime to be secondary. Also, according to Dolgos, the substantiation for asserting the coupon method of privatization was only a political argument of the government authorities of that time. Dolgos says that, much like the first round of coupon privatization was intended to fulfill a social dimension, citizens were supposed to share directly in the property of privatized enterprises. However, the majority of registered voters deposited the coupons they acquired with investment funds—and the funds were supposed to assure their stockholders that they would administer the acquired property and would pay dividends accordingly, and were to remain institutions with an unchanging portfolio.

These are arguments used in efforts to counter the views of proponents of the coupon method, according to whom the funds can act only as "temporary stations" along the road traveled by property into other private hands. If this idea is allowed to prevail, the purpose of concentrating property in investment funds is lost.

Dolgos considers the methods used for privatization to be of equal value, and thinks they should be considered separately in individual cases. He admits that the coupon method is the most rapid, but does not consider the time factor to be so important that it should be applied to the same extent as was true in the first round.

After the breakup of the former Czechoslovakia in 1993, privatization took different directions in the newly formed states. Thus far, four-fifths of the identified state property in the Czech Republic has undergone transformation in terms of ownership relationships. In the Slovak Republic, this can be said of about one-third of state property. Although a second round of coupon privatization has been accomplished in the Czech Republic, in contrast to the Slovak Republic, the continuing policy of the government is considered by Dolgos to be the main reason for the speed of transformation applicable to ownership relationships. The government's economic orientation has not changed since 1990 and it has continued to apply the outlined concepts. The rapid pace is not due only to the coupon method, because other privatization approaches are being used alongside it.

According to Dolgos, the first reason for the slowdown in privatization in Slovakia, following the formation of the independent state, was the adoption of a new concept, which differed from the previous federal concept. Subsequent changes in the political scene rendered the process more complicated, because there was no continuity in the activity of the alternating governments.

Dolgos says that the approach of a government that abolishes the privatization decisions made by its predecessor only to have the next government approve them again is a "privatization farce." He wants to use this example to illustrate the absence of continuity among the individual governments in the case of privatization. He says this has resulted in unequivocally faster progress being made in the Czech Republic after the breakup of the federation.

Nevertheless, despite the expressly different situation in the western part of the former federation, Dolgos does not consider time to be the decisive factor in the privatization process. He adds that if he thought so, he would have to also approve of the approach being asserted by the current government coalition.

From the standpoint of the purpose of privatization—to have the property of former state enterprises administered more effectively by transforming them into private enterprises—Dolgos says it is a method of privatization heretofore not used in Slovakia. It involves the free transfer of property to the acquirer. A criterion for decision would be an undertaking by the privatized enterprise to pay taxes to the state budget in subsequent years. In case there were several interested parties, the one that would offer the highest tax payments to the state budget would prevail.

Dolgos sees this form of property transfer to be the most suitable method for privatizing. It compels the acquirer

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primarily to strive to achieve maximum profit, which is the principal yardstick of future production efficiency.

Although the state would be transferring the property free of charge, it would not lose any revenue because it would acquire it in the form of taxes. Moreover, the privatized enterprise would not be burdened with additional expenditures—in contrast to existing sales, where part of the profit is used to make installment payments of the purchase price.

A third advantage would be the exclusion of credits from privatization, because the privatizing individual would not be in need of resources to purchase an enterprise. This would guarantee that, in privatization, interested parties would not be judged according to the amount of the purchase price offered—because in many cases that price does not depend on the quality of the business intentions but on the skill of the interested privatizer in obtaining a loan; the banking sphere would not be burdened with loans for privatization; and financial resources would be utilized in other important areas.

In the case of this method of privatization, the decision process would not be as complicated as it is in processes that have been used heretofore. Should the selected acquirer failed to fulfill the promised conditions, the property would revert to the state.

Dolgos has no specific notions about how this idea should be applied in practice. He admits that it would have to find support among the political parties.

Weiss Outlines SDL's Long-Term Program

95CH0271A Bratislava NOVE SLOVO BEZ RESPEKTU in Slovak 5 Jun 95 p 28

[Article by Peter Weiss, chairman of the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left]: "A Vision for Slovakia—The SDL Is Preparing a Long-Term Program"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Poprad convention of the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left] decided to prepare, by the time the fourth congress is held—in other words, by February 1997 at the latest—a long-term program for the party that will be based on the proven ideas of democratic socialism, react to the Slovak experience with transformation, and take into account the most recent ideological shifts in surrounding countries, as well as in the Socialist International [SI].*

Through this decision, the SDL has become the first Slovak party to set itself the goal of working out a long-term program that extends beyond the horizon of the year 2000 and offers Slovak society a vision of the posttransformation era. This is an extremely difficult but interesting and attractive tasl.

Today, when we are living in revolutionary times; when the old frameworks of administration and value orientation have crumbled and continue to crumble; when there is a fear of uncertainty, ideological chaos, and a disruption of values; when there is a feeling that the future is lost, people perceive very intensively the need to find meaning in the historical changes they are witnessing and in which they are all actors. Why make a secret of it? The majority of people in our country, much like people in the other postcommunist countries, are experiencing great disillusionment with regard to the original revolutionary expectations. An ever-harsher social reality, privatization worries, political conflicts that citizens frequently find irrational and incomprehensible—all of this downright calls for an answer in the form of hammered-out political values and constructive notions on the future of a society that is transforming itself. The young people, particularly, want to know what times they are actually living in; what the hopes are for their generation;, what opportunities there are for changing the disorderly status of things; what the prospects for their country, the very recently independent Slovak Republic, are; and they want to know how Slovak statehood should be developing.

A no less important goal of the work related to the long-term program is to activate the identifying activity of the SDL aimed at gaining better knowledge regarding the causes of problems that affect people and that must be resolved on the basis of political decisions or through political means—the activity aimed at estimating the basic long-term trends of development in society, determining the prerequisites for modernizing the country and for its integration into the EU and into transatlantic security and political structures. Whoever can offer them such a notion in acceptable "popularized" form can lead them out of the political apathy that led to their nonparticipation in past parliamentary elections.

It is true that this is also an opportunity to gain greater clarity—as regards our relationship with the traditions of the workers movement, for example, and also our relationship with Marxism. But what is mostly at stake is whether the democratic left can be a cultural hegemony, in the words of Gramsci, whether it will prove capable of offering the agitated and insecure Slovak society—which is impacted by the above revolution in values; by manifestations of nationalism; by a lack of political culture, but sometimes also by a deficiency in self-confidence with regard to Europe, which is integrating itself—a civilizing concept; or whether it will prove capable of submitting to Slovak society a vision of the coming millennium based on this concept, when efforts to become integrated with the EU will culminate; or whether it will prove capable of offering a clear

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definition of the long-term state and political interests of the Slovak Republic that might be subject to broader political agreement. To a significant extent, mastery of this task will depend on our ability to address the younger generation and to ensure the continuity of the democratic left—or, if you will, the continuity of socialist policies and their broad influence.

Preparation of a long-term program, which falls into the time frame of the anticipated acceptance of the SDL into the SI at its congress in 1996, is also intended to culminate in the transformation of the value-oriented SDL membership, to gain clarity as regards fundamental values that are to be the background for specific SDL policies, and to stabilize these values, respond to the calls by members and sympathizers for a "clear SDL ideology."

We wish to make use of the work involved in forging a long-term program to rehabilitate the concept of socialism with democratic attributes, but also to definitively rid the concept of socialism of the deposits of scientific communism textbooks, in which it was formulated as a specific notion used in the organization of a future socialist society in its individual areas and life manifestations. (One possible effect could also be a discussion on continuity and a lack of continuity as regards values forged during the previous regime, a discussion as to which aspects could be utilized in a positive manner and what should be rejected without reservation.)

In conjunction with the development of thoughts regarding socialism and using the approaches of the SI, democratic socialism can clearly be perceived and explained in a programmatic way only as some kind of a system of values, or as a specific value orientation. In doing this, it is not possible to "assert" this orientation mechanically, by applying the conditions of West Europe to a transforming Slovakia. Rather, it is necessary to think about it, and adapt it to the starting conditions that developed following the fall of "real socialism"—adapt it to changes in ownership relationships and changes in institutional and political relationships within the Slovak Republic and in central Europe.

From this, it follows that working out a long-range program must be based on a search for, and formulation of, values that democratic socialism should bring to the life of citizens in Slovakia. Thus, it cannot be any kind of abstract value system, but [must be] a system acceptable to the majority of citizens of the Slovak Republic.

In conjunction with the preparation of a long-term program, it should be an important ambition for the SDL to make a contribution to the theoretical bustle not only within the transformed parties of central and East Europe, which are joining the SI, but also throughout the entire, mostly European, portion of the SI. The long-term program should constitute a dignified calling card signifying our entry into the SI.

The immediate political goal of preparing the program is the integration of those preparing it (in other words: the members of the party)—to address the public and activate not only the "proven" personalities within the SDL and in the circle of advisers advising the SDL leadership but also additional people from among the ranks of sympathizers who have a desire to share in solving a complex of problems involving the fundamental values of the SDL and the methods and means for realizing these values as a matter of practical long-term policy, so that this policy can be balanced and stable.

In other words, the preparation of the program is valuable in and of itself, as an important means of integrating the party and its political advances, as a means by which all those who wish to join the debate on exciting topics can do so—topics that are exciting not only for the party faithful but for all of Slovak society.

In view of the serious nature of the tasks involved in preparing the long-term program, we are opting for a participatory and democratic method for solving this task, including making use of the L. Novomesky Foundation and its clubs, which should be operating in every okres. The intellectual activities organized directly by the commission charged with preparing the program will be linked to the immediate reflection of the living conditions and expectations of our members, provided they show an interest in this form of participation relative to the creation of the program.

The prepreparation phase of the program will utilize not only responses to questions that are being asked these days in a letter addressed to the membership base but also the analysis of the precongress and postcongress discussions, which compare the analyses of program documents issued by parties that are similar to the SDL (MSS, SDPR, DSL) [expansions not provided] and classical social democratic parties. An analysis of basic programs of Slovak political parties is also expected. Similarly, we must make use of existing results obtained by Slovak scientific work sites, primarily in analyzing Slovak society, which must constitute the starting point for every serious program. On this basis, it is possible and necessary within the framework of individual topic commissions to even work out a strategy of key policies: economic, social, cultural, educational, etc.

It is, of course, premature to speak of the concrete structure of this program. What is certain is that the program will not get by without recapitulating the circumstances under which the SDL came into being

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and the road it has traveled. It must provide a definition of the fundamental ideas and values on which the policies of the SDL are based, and must clearly state whose interests we wish to champion and how we wish to do it. Finally, it must contain notions regarding society's institutions and organizations, the political system, long-term economic and ecological policies, etc.

But let us not anticipate, in our contemplations, what the results of work on the long-term program of the SDL should be. We face a difficult but interesting and exciting task. We welcome all those who have something to say and who wish to say it.

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UN: Serb Permission Needed To Probe U.S. Pictures

AU1008123595 Paris AFP in English 1211 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Report by Diane Bartz]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 10 (AFP)—Photographs that the United States says show mass graves of Moslems massacred by Bosnian Serbs in eastern Bosnia must be authenticated before they can be acted upon, a UN official said Thursday [10 August]. "You have to understand that this is emanating from the State Department of the United States. We haven't seen any photographs. Where did they come from? We don't know," said UN spokesman Chris Vernon. "We would want to be firmly told where these were obtained, ... and they would have to be authenticated. We're not just going to act on the basis of a U.S. State Department photograph."

Estimates vary, but between 1,500 and 10,000 people, most of them men of draft age, disappeared following the fall of the eastern enclave Srebrenica on July 11. The Red Cross has put the number of missing at 6,OOO.

U.S. ambassador Madeleine Albright is expected to present the photographs taken by spy satellites and U-2 spy planes to the United Nations in New York on Thursday as evidence of war crimes committed following the July 11 fall of the UN-declared safe area. A second nearby safe area, Zepa, fell on July 25.

"It could be a detailed analysis that they (the photographs) are judged unimportant," Vernon told reporters at a briefing here. The photographs appear to show hundreds, or even thousands, of men and boys in a field near a soccer stadium north of Srebrenica, a U.S. official told the NEW YORK TIMES. A photograph taken several days later showed the field to be empty, but with a large area of freshly dug earth, the official said.

The U.S. Administration claims that several hundred Muslim men and boys were executed by Serb forces last month as part of an extensive campaign of ethnic cleansing in Srebrenica and Zepa. [passage omitted]

Despite his apparent skepticism, Vernon said that if UN teams in Bosnia-Herzegovina were asked to look into the allegations of a massacre, they would attempt to do so. Vernon indicated that one stumbling block could be the unwillingness of Bosnian Serbs to allow UN teams near Srebrenica.

Investigating the allegations, he said, would require access. "Are they likely to give it to us? In that situation your guess is as good as mine," he said.

Ministers' Letter on Silajdzic's Resignation

LD0908195095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Aug 95

["Text" of a letter sent by government ministers to Assembly President Miro Lazovic—read by announcer]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the resignation of Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, we wish to inform the Bosnian Assembly of the following:

First, given the process of the neutral narrowing of the government powers [as received] present for some time now, and because of which the government cannot carry out in full its duties and responsibilities established by the Constitution, we believe that the decision of the prime minister to resign represents a wise decision, based on the Constitution, to the present developments.

Second, we also believe that the government had a responsible attitude to the Bosnian Assembly. Submitting periodical and special reports, the government has regularly briefed the Assembly on the situation in all spheres and on its own performance. This in turn has enabled the Assembly to keep a continuous record of the government's performance and assess it. Up to and including the Assembly session held in May this year the government's performance has been assessed as positive.

We believe that by its responsible attitude towards the Assembly, the government contributed to the reaffirmation and consolidation of the position of the Bosnian Assembly.

Third, in the interest of the government's work in the future, irrespective of its members, and in the interest of the successful functioning of the system as a whole, it is vital to ensure that the Bosnian Assembly, the Bosnian Presidency, the Bosnian Government, and other state organs carry out their tasks within their constitutionally based responsibility and be accountable for their work.

Fourth, we propose that the Assembly should examine the report submitted by the government and assess its work as a whole, as well as the work of every [government] department separately. Within our competence we are prepared to assume collective responsibility as government members and individual responsibility for our own departments.

Respectfully,

Ministers Faruk Smailbegovic, Muharem Cero, Ibrahim Koluder, Munever Imamovic, Nikola Grabovac, Nedeljko Despotovic, Izet Zigic, Enes Karic; and Deputy Ministers Mumamed Lenes, and Dzemal Cebaraldic.

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Silajdzic Cites Loss of Power

BR1008124695 Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 10 Aug 95 p 9

[Interview with outgoing Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Valerio Pellizzari; place and date not given: "Better Not To Trust Zagreb Too Far"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo—*Bosnia is more fragile than ever. Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic left the government yesterday. He recorded a television message to explain his resignation. But by the evening the electricity supply had not yet been restored to Sarajevo.*

[Pellizzari] Why did you resign?

[Silajdzic] Because this government has no power. A writer told me that I must not abandon my post at a time of crisis. But a writer with no paper and no pen cannot write. At this moment I am talking to you and I do not even know where three of my ministers are.

[Pellizzari] When did you begin to lose power?

[Silajdzic] About a year ago.

[Pellizzari] Last week in Zenica you tendered your resignation without giving an explanation.

[Silajdzic] No, that is one of the many unfounded things that are being said. At the latest parliament session there I spoke for almost five hours, and stated my reasons quite clearly.

[Pellizzari] So why are you not heeded? You are very popular.

[Silajdzic] My disagreement is a fundamental matter. You cannot impose a political model from above. There are three centers of authority in this republic, the president, the government, and parliament. And the government is answerable only to parliament. I believe in this principle of democracy.

[Pellizzari] Has it been exhausting to coexist in the same building with President Izetbegovic?

[Silajdzic] Not so much. It is not a personal matter; it is the ideas that do not coincide.

[Pellizzari] Have the pressure and interference from the Islamic groups increased?

[Silajdzic] You are talking to someone who has studied and taught Oriental philosophy. My father is one of the toughest people in Sarajevo. What we are witnessing in Bosnia is not a struggle in the name of Islam, but a power struggle disguised by that symbol. Thus I see communists of long standing siding with the most extreme Muslims.

[Pellizzari] The economy seems to be entirely out of control.

[Silajdzic] As you know, there is a tunnel dug under the airport to bring supplies into Sarajevo.

[Pellizzari] Precisely; it is said that it is made available at set times to large-scale private speculators who pay a toll to the Army.

[Silajdzic] When there is a war it is natural for there to be profiteers of all kinds. But I state quite clearly that the tunnel is not in our hands. The government of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not control that essential supply route to the capital.

[Pellizzari] Why did you decide to launch the Bosnian offensive in mid-June?

[Silajdzic] I do no know about any offensive in progress. I know nothing about this military initiative. Nobody informed me about it. This is 100 percent true. I believe that it was launched in order to avert a massive attack on Sarajevo. But this is my own opinion. Be that as it may, when an offensive is launched, I think that it should not be announced if you want to protect your men.

[Pellizzari] You recently visited the refugees in Tuzla.

[Silajdzic] Of course. After what happened in Srebrenica and Zepa this is a priority for the government. But at the latest session of parliament this tragic situation was not even on the agenda. And when I broached it, together with the Bihac problem, it was as though I had not said anything.

[Pellizzari] The whole picture in the former Yugoslavia has changed since the Knin offensive. Is force still the decisive factor?

[Silajdzic] Without our approval, Bosnia cannot be divided legally. It can be divided de facto. But this would entail violating our rights and fueling the war.

[Pellizzari] Tudjman is not going to Moscow, but Milosevic is going. Have you been excluded from the game?

[Silajdzic] I still think that people must try to talk. It is better to talk than to start another battle entailing further loss of life.

[Pellizzari] The Croatian president drafted the division of Bosnia on a napkin and then presented Izetbegovic with an award.

[Silajdzic] Irrespective of any considerations of opportuneness, the time has come to take stock of relations with Zagreb. This, on the military level too; despite the

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confederation that we have formed, we still have two separate armies.

SDA Supports Kapetanovic

AU0908151595 Sarajevo Radic Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Cantonal Committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] held a news conference in Tuzla today. The conclusions of the SDA Main Committee extraordinary session held in Zenica were supported at the conference. The candidacy of Izudin Kapetanovic for the post of prime minister-designate if Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic fails to withdraw his resignation was also supported.

This was presented to correspondents by SDA Cantonal Committee Chairman Sead Jamahosmanovic, who pointed out that some forces are taking advantage of the situation in the wake of Prime Minister Silajdzic's resignation and the arrival of the Srebrenica [word indistinct] on the territory of the canton. These forces are trying to use the situation for their own promotion and to disunite the Bosniak people. One of them, it was said at today's news conference, is the Tuzla Citizens' Forum that is synchronizing its actions with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force].

Resignation 'Serious' Crisis

LD0908170395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 9 Aug 95

[Report by HINA correspondent Ranko Mavrak in Sarajevo on 9 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic's visit to Zagreb and his talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman the Sarajevo media are today saying that the alliance of the two countries has been considerably consolidated and that this is the only way of crushing the Greater Serbian aggressor. The Sarajevo media is also focusing in particular on President Tudjman's words that the agreement of the Bosnian and the Croat peoples is not only an impetus to crush the aggressor but to establish the new international order, something that is in the interest of both the Western and Islamic world.

There is hardly any mention today of any lingering doubts and various comments as regards new deals on securing a peace at the expense of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As early as yesterday the state media were already trying hard to deny them. Although there is still some criticism here because President Izetbegovic is not going to attend the Moscow meeting the Croatian partner is nevertheless believed to be capable of appreciating the Bosnian position whereby the government in Sarajevo refused to negotiate on mutual recognition with Belgrade unless Zagreb was included in that process.

Most observers believe that this is an extremely favorable opportunity to finally unravel the Bosnian war knot as they openly count on the open dispute between Milosevic and Karadzic. These are only some of the Bosnian dilemmas in recent days. The outcome of the crisis will depend to a considerable degree on the end result of internal political problems.

Prime Minister Silajdzic's resignation has perhaps triggered the most serious political crisis since the beginning of the war. Today is the deadline, set by the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije, SDA], for the prime minister to recall his resignation. The public has only today learned what had caused the rift between Silajdzic and the SDA. The prime minister resolutely demanded that some 50,000 soldiers be demobilized in order to restart the totally dormant economy. He also demanded that his government should be accountable for its work to the parliament alone as it worked on the basis of its decision. The SDA did not agree to these demands while its attempt to politically marginalize Silajdzic has already stirred up emotional reactions among common people.

Only now it is clear that the prime minister in resignation is a politician of indisputable authority and reputation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Silajdzic is expected to reveal in public the reasons behind his resignation on Sarajevo Television.

Sacirbegovic: Ethnic Cleansing Now 'Boomeranging'

BR1008084895 Hilversum Nederland-1 Television Network in Dutch 1800 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview with our reporter Maria Henneman, Bosnian [Foreign] Minister Sacirbegovic admitted that the exodus from Krajina may be called an act of ethnic cleansing.

[Begin recording] [Sacirbegovic, in English] We should not be too cynical about ethnic cleansing that has been started off by Serbia three and one half years ago, and that at this point of time is boomeranging on all the populations, including, of course, the Serbs themselves. [end recording]

SDP Questions Democracy, Media Monopoly

AU0908161595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina [SDP] held a news conference today that touched upon the Assembly session in Zenica

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and events connected with it. Stevo Latinovic has the details:

[Latinovic] According to SDP Deputy Chairman Professor Dr. Zlatko Lagumdzija, the Assembly session has imposed upon us as an indispensable move to urgently move [words indistinct], so that everybody in this country would finally perform his duties. In keeping [words indistinct] struggle against fascism and struggle for democracy. While in the former, we have been moving forward by the day, the latter seems to be undergoing a crisis. The crisis is [word indistinct] by the state with its institutions, and is leading the country into a constitutional, political, and moral crisis. Dr. Lagumdzija said that the ruling party, which is identifying itself with the state, has been contributing to that. The state fails to provide answers to [word indistinct] offers and new divisions. Nothing is known about (?participation) in these negotiations and [word indistinct] and stands.

Questions are being received from the world. Dr.Lagumdzija is citing only those received by the SDP, albeit not only from the West and the United States, but also from Islamic countries. Is Bosnia-Herzegovina heading into radicalism? [words indistinct] the ruling party its firmest world support: building a democratic society? These questions, as well as many others, present the SDP representatives in the Presidency with the task to of putting them on the agenda of a Presidency session. Because, as was said, an attack on the Constitution has been perpetrated by the ruling party and one-party rule has been imposed. The question being asked is whether the ruling party is leading the state into democracy or a neototalitarianism, which is a certain road toward breaking Bosnia-Herzegovina apart.

The SDP members who are members of the Presidency and those who are Assembly deputies will initiate these questions and the questions of the ruling party's monopoly on the state-controlled media, as well as on the flow of financial resources, as huge money funds have been arriving from abroad, but the state has no information about this flow. One should initiate the question of nepotism and (?dynasty) in the Army and the diplomatic service and also ask whether members of one party alone can enjoy state confidence.

Regarding the issue of the resignation of Prime Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzic, the SDP demands a public explanation and that reports on the work of the Government, Presidency, and Assembly be presented at the next Assembly session, at which [words indistinct] would the built up and identification of (?civil servants) with the institution be prevented.

Report on Army's Summer Offensive in Sarajevo

95BA0296D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 8 Jul 95 p 36

[Article by Ervin Hladnik-Milharcic: "Sarajevo Cannons"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The forest road that links Zenica to Tuzla has been washed out by downpours. In the spring, the bulldozers of the Pakistani battalion of the Blue Helmets, who sleepily oversee the road to eastern Bosnia, patched it to some extent, but several days of July rains turned the improvised macadam into mountain streams. In several places, half of the road was washed away into the Krivaja River, and elsewhere stones from the hills were scattered over the other half.

A green, TAM-covered pickup truck, without a handle on its rear door, carefully wound among the holes in the road. The driver tried with all his might not to rattle too much, and turned from the left side of the little road to the right, drove from the side into potholes, and scraped his way out of them. He drove slowly, as if he had all of eternity ahead of him. The door shook, and the wire that held it shut became looser and looser. In the middle of nowhere, the gate of one of the many police checkpoints appeared. The driver handed a piece of paper to one of the policemen in camouflage uniform. The policeman only squinted sideways at the document, and he raised the gate without saying a word. The road quickly turned toward a hill, the wire that held the door gave way, and in the dark, windowless interior, coffins nailed together from thick boards appeared. The pickup truck was carrying the bodies of four fallen soldiers from the battlefields near Sarajevo, where the Bosnian Army had been conducting an operation to lift the blockade of the city for 10 days.

"Damn it," shouted one of the policemen, who started whistling after the swinging door, which was waving good-bye. The driver, however, did not hear anything, or else, fed up with constantly stopping, did not even look around, and disappeared around the corner. We looked away, but those six boards were hypnotic and we could not take our eyes off them until they disappeared on their way. During those days, many closed pickup trucks with bolted rear doors were driving around Bosnia.

Material-Technical Supplies

The correctly sawn and planed boards were the only thing away from the battlefield that brought the reality of war before our eyes. When the Sarajevo Corps' brigades moved from the city to the frontlines outside the city through the tunnel under the airport, they carried their "MTS" [material-technical supplies] with them. First of

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all, soldiers with personal weapons and a set of combat ammunition crawled through the hole in the ground. One clip of ammunition was in the rifle, and another was stuck with adhesive tape to the first in the opposite direction so that the empty clip could be replaced quickly. Another two or a few hand grenades were in the pockets of the uniforms, along with two or three grenade-launcher shells. After the soldiers came boxes of ammunition, canned food, standard communications equipment, medical equipment, and explosives. Finally, neatly stacked coffins appeared from the tunnel, one after another. The soldiers concluded from the amount of material-technical supplies how serious the operation was that they were leaving for. When the coffins appeared, their courage somewhat subsided. Someone usually decides then that war is not for him, and looks for a way to get from Bosnia to Germany or some even more remote country. After three years of war, the statistics of life and death are as clear as day, and the calculation is simple. The issue is no longer bravery, skill, or patriotism, but rather the ratio between the number of boxes for mortar shells and the number of boxes for people. In the summer offensive against Sarajevo, it is clear to every fighter that that ratio is slanted too far toward the number of boxes for people.

"In three years of war, we have developed the army from nothing to the level of brigades," announced a brigadier who had just lost a hill on the eastern battlefield that his unit had occupied several days before. For almost two hours, without saying a word, he had listened to a conversation about the course of the Sarajevo offensive, which took place in a primitively furnished refugee apartment. A table, rug, and couch were silent witnesses to the conversations between members of two different units and several observers. He was the only one who had graduated from a military school. He joined the Bosnian Army at the very beginning of the war, as a former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] officer. He listened to different theories about possibilities for lifting the blockade of Sarajevo, silently nodded at estimates of the number of casualties, and smiled at speculations about the General Staff's strategy, which seemed more mysterious from day to day.

In the north of the battlefield, where the Bosnian Army's most elite units were concentrated, the 7th Muslim Brigade, the Black Swans, General Alagic's Travnik Corps, and the units of General Mahmuljin from Zenica, which have the most spectacular victories in the last year of the war behind them, the battle stopped on the second day and the units did not advance anywhere. In the south, at the end of a 100-km arc of the encircling maneuver developed by General Delic, the territorial units of the 1st and 4th Corps advanced across Treskavica Mountain, occupied hill after hill, and avoided fortified cities.

"We talk about corps and army groups, but actually we have only mastered working with brigades. We have come this far. Once I spoke with an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] officer, who told me that if we knew everything that the Serbs had aimed at us, we would never have resisted. If I compare what we had in 1992 with what we have now, it does not concern me any more."

Through the work of various brigades, consisting of 500 to 1,600 soldiers, since the middle of 1994 the Bosnian Army has achieved limited successes in various parts of the battlefield. It slowly took over Majevica Mountain near Tuzla, curtailed the area around Vozuca north of Doboj, moved from one hill to the next on Treskavica Mountain, and occupied Vlasic Mountain. The soldiers protested all year that they were fed up with conquering hills and mountain villages, and that they wanted to liberate cities and hotels. One of the headquarters officers, in response to a question about when the army would head for Doboj or Brcko, shook his head, saying that it made no sense.

"We are conquering the peaks and avoiding fortified cities according to plan. We are thus gaining strategic positions, and tying up the Serbian units. We could take Trnovo or Doboj, for instance. But what would we gain by that? The 1,000-2,000 soldiers that are defending those cities would move to the Sarajevo battlefield and reinforce the defense there. At the same time, conquering cities is a risky business. In street fighting, no one can really control the army. There could be serious casualties among civilians or uncontrolled violence, and the army's reputation would fall to the level acquired by our enemies."

The strategy of conquering peaks with brigades has proven to be very successful. Even the most spectacular victory, the conquest of the television tower and artillery positions on Vlasic, which brought glory to General Alagic, commander of the 7th Corps, was actually the work of the elite maneuvering brigades. The first to climb up Vlasic were the Black Swans and the Muderiz Brigade, whose training is closest to that of Western armies' special units; the 7th Muslim Brigade, which is ideologically the most homogeneous unit of the Bosnian Army and which because of its close ties to the Islamic religion is not afraid of casualties; and the 17th Krajina Brigade. The Travnik Corps' territorial units then occupied the positions that had already been conquered.

In those battles, the Bosnian Army built the myth of an invincible army, which advances slowly but surely.

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Every Bosnian politician who received the question of how solid the Bosnian state was answered without hesitation: "As solid as our army is successful." The myth of the army is the basis of a state at war. The Bosnian Army cannot afford a big military defeat, because that would jeopardize the stability or even the survival of the state, which now has 750,000 citizens on the territory controlled by the army.

From Zenica to Tuzla, just one question was repeated. What was General Staff Commander Rasim Delic doing? And what was the cautious President Alija Izetbegovic thinking of when he announced the operation to liberate Sarajevo in a television appearance, and warned the Serbian units to get ready to defend their encirclement?

With a Crampon Against a Bulldozer

A military observer from UN units, who was willing to comment on the beginning of the operation, was categorical in his assessment of the advisability of the attack against Sarajevo. "Without heavy artillery and 100,000 soldiers, the attempt to lift the blockade of Sarajevo was madness. The Serbian fortifications are built in such a way that in the most crucial places, they can withstand bombs from aircraft. Perhaps it would work with attack helicopters, napalm, and a barrage of artillery fire. With infantry, it is like going up against an entrenched bulldozer with a crampon."

It nevertheless seemed that General Delic had sent an army with crampons against tanks. The T operation, which was prepared for all year long, is the third attempt to lift the blockade of the city. Before it, Jug 92 at the very beginning of the war and Kuverta in 1993 already failed. The preparations for this year's summer offensive were taking place all through 1994, with the conquest of positions on the Nisic plateau to the north of Sarajevo and the gradual conquest of Treskavica to the south since this March. When the NATO alliance botched its air strikes against Pale, everyone expected that the army would try to clean off Mt. Igman and secure a supply route to Sarajevo. With a concentration of elite brigades in one spot, it would at least have been possible to secure the mountain road somewhat better and neutralize the most irritating cannons in its vicinity. Instead, General Delic started to develop an encircling maneuver around the Serbian positions, and everything seemed as though he had decided on a big operation to lift the blockade of the city completely.

On the northern battlefield, the operation seemed to be a complete fiasco. The army's most elite units, which were not used to losing, were deployed in the first echelon. In the first assault, they occupied several peaks and approached the city; on the next day they somehow held on to the positions they had conquered; and on the third day the Serbian armored units and artillery got almost everything back without much trouble. The only strategic position still left in Bosnian hands was Ravni Nabozic. One of the commanders of the first echelon described the course of the battle as follows:

"We knew only approximately where their bunkers were, because we had only one week for field preparations. It was night. We crawled through minefields. It somehow worked out. We had nitroglycerine and antitank shells with us. We went toward a hill. The bunkers were on top. Whenever we had previously gone toward bunkers, we were careful that they did not observe us until we were at the embrasures. This time they saw us and started first. We somehow got to 200 meters and fired everything we had. One of my people hit a storage site for explosives. That confused them a little and we reached the trenches. Then it went easily and we cleaned up everything. We had just one more peak ahead of us. There was a tank there, which started to fire at us. I called the corps howitzer, the only cannon nearby, on the radio, and yelled at them to take out the tank. That moron told me that he only had 20 shells, and that he used at least 10 for a tank. They had given him an order to save his shells for the main attack. I asked him where the main attack was. We were the main attack. Everything else had stopped. I drew my brigade mortars to me. Where have you ever seen an idiot who covered a tank with mortars? We at least quieted them to some extent, however, and went forward. We somehow made it to the top. When I looked around, half of the troop that I brought with me was lying further down the hill. We rested a little, and then artillery from the Ilijas side started firing at us. Alagic and Mahmuljin were already supposed to have taken them two hours earlier. They had not even advanced a meter. We had maximum losses for a hill that the Serbs took back in two days."

One of the corps had more than 100 dead and 1,000 wounded in the first assault. According to various angry commanders, in the entire operation there were 300-500 dead and at least 2,000 wounded among the entire army's most legendary brigades. Then the kind of rain that Bosnia has not seen in July for 100 years now started pouring down. The hastily built mountain roads got soaked, so vehicles could not get near the battlefield. The wounded were carried on foot for three or six hours to the nearest vehicle. They died on the way from loss of blood from minor gunshot wounds.

In one of the barracks, soldiers who had been replaced on the front by fresh units licked their wounded pride and wondered what the sense of the entire operation was. They were used to having a whole corps withdrawn

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at the first sign of a possibility of high casualties. Now, however, the commanders had burned up units as if casualties did not play any role in the war. It seemed that the generals were deliberately tying up Serbian units at the parts of the battlefield where, according to assessments before the offensive, the operation had the least possibility of success. Sarajevo was paying the highest price in the last four years. The Serbian artillery was killing five or 10 people a day. In spite of the catastrophe in the northern battlefield and the catastrophic situation in the city, however, the General Staff was giving meager but optimistic reports on the success of the operation. One of Izetbegovic's secretaries stated that even if the operation to liberate the city did not succeed, it would not be any sort of tragedy. Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic calmly stated in Zenica during an interview on the future of the federation that one should not be impatient. "Sarajevo will be liberated sooner or later," he said two days before the automobile accident that took him out of political life for at least a few months. Although he was quite familiar with the situation on the battlefield, where he had just returned from a talk with the brigade commanders, he waved his hand with a smile. "We will win sooner or later."

The soldiers who had returned from the front did not share their superiors' optimism. There were too many pickup trucks carrying a quiet cargo to various parts of Bosnia, the hospitals were full, and the elite units had been decimated. What was the success supposed to have been?

Southern Wing

With the complete collapse of the offensive blow in the north, General Karavelic, commander of the First Sarajevo Corps, 100 kilometers further south, with only two elite brigades and exhausted units, advanced without too much ceremony across Treskavica Mountain, and then along the road leading from Sarajevo to Foca. The arc of his advance was very elegant, and the data on casualties were low; it almost seemed that the Serbian units were withdrawing without any real resistance, because all of their elite units withdrew to the vicinity of Sarajevo. What was unusual about this maneuver by Karavelic to liberate Sarajevo was that he was not moving toward the city, but rather away from it. It was only when he approached three key strategic points on his territory, Rogoj, Brana, and Crni Vrh, that it began to become clear what that "T" in the operation's title meant. Karavelic and his units almost placed a perpendicular line on the line that links Sarajevo with the Gorazde enclave. For one year the 1st and 4th Corps conducted long and bloody battles on Treskavica Mountain, which had obviously exhausted the Serbian units in those positions. All the plans for the liberation of Sarajevo from 1992 on provided for linking up the units that would then go on to liberate Sarajevo with units from Gorazde. In 1992 the plan almost succeeded. At that time the Gorazde territory was linked with other parts of Bosnia by footpaths across the Grebak and Kicelj mountains, which the Muslims splattered with blood. The 24-hour march cost many casualties, but the number of people whose lives were saved by that campaign was much higher. In strong offensives in July 1993, the Serbs conquered the Trnovo settlement again, cut off the road, and completely cut off Gorazde again. The Bosnian Army, under Karavelic's leadership, reached 800 meters from Trnovo, but avoided it and advanced precisely in the direction of Gorazde. The military significance of that operation is only to open the gateway to the Drina basin and liberation of the enclaves.

The Bosnian Army has crossed the threshold of tactical operations and is dealing with strategy, in which the loss of one or two brigades no longer means a catastrophe and the end of the operation. The embargo on arms imports is preventing destruction of the encirclement of the capital, and that is why General Delic is creating one more very broad encirclement around the Serbian positions, which is supposed to cut off the supply route for their units. He has opened up five battlefields at the same time, and forced Karadzic into a feverish mobilization of all the reserve units. The battle for Sarajevo was only a maneuver that started the war for eastern Bosnia. The UN peacekeeping units found themselves in the middle of military operations over which they no longer had any control. They are only still regulating the course of the war by controlling the embargo on imports of heavy weapons, which is preventing the Bosnians from any serious counterstrikes against the consolidated fortifications around Sarajevo.

J. F. Carter, former U.S. Marine colonel, who is participating in one of the peace missions in the area of central Bosnia, swore in response to a question about how he would answer if the U.S. Government asked him for his opinion about immediately lifting the embargo. "Hell, no! It would be a mistake. If they lifted the embargo while UNPROFOR is here, then the international units would have to withdraw immediately, and there would be chaos. When UNPROFOR leaves, whether it is at the end of this year or the beginning of next year, then lifting the embargo will become a completely different issue. With respect to lifting the embargo, they ought to take into account the danger that all the Serbs in Bosnia and Serbia will join forces again for a general war."

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The leadership of the Bosnian state has decided that it will start a general war on its own account, contrary to the advice of the international units and with the maximum degree of risk. Either they will be in front of the entrance to Sarajevo in the fall, or the city will be left without any illusions at all that a defeated army can liberate them. Several hundreds of thousands of lives are in the balance. There are few people who would like to be in Alija Izetbegovic's or General Rasim Delic's shoes today, although Generals Alagic and Mahmuljin are enviously looking at the position of commander of the General Staff.

UN: Danes Report Troops 'Executed' 5 Elderly

AU0908080495 Paris AFP in English 0730 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 9 (AFP)—Danish UN peacekeepers have accused Bosnian troops of "executing" five elderly handicapped people on the Croat-Bosnian border near Dvor, UN special envoy to former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said Wednesday [9 August].

He said reports of the killings were made by Danish peacekeepers in the town, where thousands of Serb refugees are trying to flee into Bosnia after a Croatian offensive against the separatist Krajina region.

"There were some reports by the Danish soldiers of witnessing five handicapped old people, one of them in a wheelchair, who were executed, and the allegation is that it was (done) by the (Bosnian Army) Fifth Corps," he said.

"It was witnessed in the middle of a fighting and we are trying to verify if this is absolutely true," he added.

ICRC, UN: 'Difficulties' in Aid Distribution

AU0908152595 Paris AFP in English 1511 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 9 (AFP)—Aid organisations Wednesday [9 August] expressed concern over difficulties in supplying thousands of Croatian Serb refugees in the northern Bosnian town of Banja Luka, despite a Red Cross announcement that an airbridge would be set up.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) spokesman Rene-Luc Thevoz said here it was hoped the first plane would arrive from Zagreb Wednesday with 20 tonnes of equipment, as reserves in Serb-controlled Banja Luka "are all but exhausted."

Up to 200,000 refugees from the formerly Serb-held Krajina region of Croatia are converging on Banja Luka, following the Croatian Army's offensive which began last Friday.

Thevoz said one of the most urgent requirements was to provide suitable drinking water as some refugees were arriving completely dehydrated. And he highlighted another worrying problem in that the refugees were ejecting minority Croats or Moslems in the region from their homes.

ICRC Secretary General Cornelio Sommaruga, who is in the region, expressed concern over this development during a meeting with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic Wednesday, Thevoz added.

Meanwhile the UN refugees office (UNHCR), which was still trying to provide aid by road from Belgrade, encountered numerous difficulties because of congestion caused by columns of fleeing refugees.

Christiane Berthiaume, a spokeswoman for the UNHCR, explained that the organisation had more supplies in Zagreb but several bridges along the road from the Croatian capital were unsuitable for heavy goods vehicles. Moves were underway with the cooperation of UN troops to reinforce the bridges, she added.

With the growing refugee exodus, the UNHCR announced it would again appeal to some 30 countries to take in refugees from former Yugoslavia at its weekly meeting on Friday. But the massive movement of Serbs from Krajina constitutes only part of the exodus of people affected by conflicts raging in the former Yugoslavia.

Some 4.5 million people, or one fifth of the population of prewar Yugoslavia, have been forced to leave their homes and are currently abroad or elsewhere in ex-Yugoslavia, according to UNHCR figures before the Krajina conflict broke out. Some 700,000 have been taken in by European countries, 400,000 of them by Germany. But most of them, 3,715,000, are displaced within the former Yugoslavia. The figure is set to rise sharply with the exodus of Croatian Serbs.

Refugee Situation 'Worst' in RS

AU0908204795 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Aug 95

[Report by Vera Gajic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Another two border crossings have been opened for refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina, namely, Sepak leading to Loznica and Karakaj leading to Zvornik. Also, the situation in the reception centers is now better, Rade Dubajic, secretary general of the Yugoslav Red Cross said at a news conference.

The situation, however, remains the worst in the Serb Republic [RS] because there are several tens of thou-

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sands of refugees in Banja Luka. There is a shortage of bread and water and the food reserves are running out. Water tankers and trucks carrying food and medical aid from Serbia are not arriving in time due to jams on the roads.

It was reported that UNICEF donated $500,000 for children, the humanitarian organization Save the Children donated supplies for babies and mothers, while ECO, a humanitarian organization of the European Union, sent food and toiletries to Mitrovica and Sid.

Various humanitarian organizations and people of good will have also made their vehicles available. Belgrade secured 90 tonnes of fuel for Banja Luka.

Fuel Shortage Hampers Evacuation

LD0908130095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—The evacuation of [Krajina Serb] refugees is being hampered by the lack of fuel for around 40,000 vehicles and means of transport, primarily buses, TANJUG has learned from the Banja Luka-based Republic of Serb Krajina's headquarters for the reception and accommodation of refugees.

According to the same source, there is a shortage of water, food, medicine, and sanitation material.

Croats Depart as Serbs Arrive

AU1008124095 Paris AFP in English 1224 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Report by Adrian Brown: "Serb Influx Causes Non-Serb Minority Exodus"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 10 (AFP)—Angry and frustrated Krajina Serb refugees streaming into Banja Luka in northern Bosnia after fleeing fighting in Croatia are prompting non-Serbs in the town to leave, a UN aid official said Thursday [10 August].

Tens of thousands of Krajina Serbs have arrived in the Serb-held town from Croatia after the Krajina region was retaken by Croatian Armed Forces this week.

Mark Cutts, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said about 30,000 people had flooded into the town but thousands more were moving through the area. The town's remaining Croat minority, however, is moving out as the Serbs come in, Cutts said.

"Certainly there have been a lot of Croats leaving and trying to leave the area. A lot of this is spontaneous reaction to the Krajina Serbs who are coming in," he said.

"This is not the first time and we have seen this before. We are trying to ensure that the human rights of these minorities are respected but there is pressure from these people coming into the area who are trying to take out their frustration with Croatia on Croats living there," Cutts said.

Last Sunday, Banja Luka's Roman Catholic bishop Franjo Komarica told aid officials that evictions of Croats had begun as soon as the Croatian Government forces launched their attack on the self-styled rebel Serb state of Krajina.

Banja Luka, the largest Serb-held town in Bosnia, lies on the most direct route to Serbia to the east where many refugees have headed. A Red Cross worker said 36,000 had entered Serbia, of whom some 28,000 had been registered.

An aid convoy carrying 310 tonnes of food and supplies reached the town late Wednesday. Cutts said the needs of those in the town were great, but added, "it does give us a bad taste in the mouth" that the Serbs were taking out their frustration on local Croats and Moslems. [passage omitted]

This is not the first population shift in the area. Before war broke out, the Serb-held region covering much of northern Bosnia once had half a million Moslems and Croats living in the area, just 100,000 less than the total number of Serbs.

Since the conflict began in Bosnia in 1992 the majority have been chased out by Serb extremists backed by the Bosnian Serb leadership. Fewer than 60,000 now remain, according to UNHCR estimates. [passage omitted]

Cutts said there were no plans to open an air bridge to the city though a Red Cross spokeswowan said an International Committee of the Red Cross plane was waiting at Belgrade airport for clearance to fly to an airstrip at Banja Luka.

RS Reaches Agreement on Banja Luka Air Lift

LD0908171795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (SRNA)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic [RS] and chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation With the UN and International Humanitarian Organizations, today announced the establishment of the humanitarian air lift from Belgrade and Zagreb to Banja Luka.

After last night's talks with ICRC Chairman Cornelio Sommaruga, Vice President Koljevic said that every-

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thing had been agreed with regard to the establishment of an air lift, "but it still has to be decided whether the first plane will leave from Zagreb or Belgrade."

Koljevic also said that the ICRC was the only humanitarian organization that adequately treated the situation facing the Serb people after the Croatian ethnic cleansing in the Republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

'Procedural' Rift Causes Delay

AU1008113095 Paris AFP in English 1113 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 10 (AFP)—A last minute procedural wrangle held up a mercy flight bound for here Thursday [10 August] loaded with 20 tonnes [metric tons] of vital humanitarian aid for tens of thousands of Serb refugees, the Red Cross said. "As far as we are concerned there are still clearance problems, problems of procedure," ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) spokesman Kim Gordon-Bates told AFP.

He declined to say where the problems were originating. However he said they were "not insurmountable. The hold-up is due to authorisation problems, getting clearance from control towers and civil authorities and getting the right bits of paper in the right place at the right time," he said. "We still hope that the flight will leave Belgrade today and reach Banja Luka sometime this afternoon," the spokesman said.

However, it appeared early Thursday that a three-way political wrangle had broken out between the warring factions over the humanitarian bid to reopen Banja Luka airport, which has been closed since a NATO-enforced no-fly zone was imposed over Bosnia more than two years ago. Countless thousands of refugees have been streaming towards this northern Bosnian city since the weekend.

Security assurances for the air bridge were shaken Wednesday after the Bosnian Serb military authorities claimed that Croatian gunners had shelled an airfield north of Banja Luka. The reports could not be independently confirmed.

Bosnian Government authorities are also said to be hostile to the idea of allowing an air bridge into Bosnian Serb territory while Sarajevo airport, in the sinister shadow of Serb guns, remains shut.

Serb Leaders View Krajina, Mladic, FRY

AU0908200895 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Aug 95

["Panel discussion" by Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic, Vice Presidents Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic, and Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik with unidentified moderator—live; monitored in progress]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Moderator] A question from Loznica for Mr. Karadzic. What happened in Krajina and who is responsible for such a rapid fall and for such a number of refugees?

[Karadzic] You see, I heard from some officers who managed to get away. They complained that somebody ordered the evacuation of civilians.

[Moderator] That was the beginning of the end.

[Karadzic] That was a very tragic decision indeed. We have not been able to establish who gave that order. They say somebody from Belgrade did. Who from Belgrade? Who carries out orders? Whose orders are carried out? The Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] has a tragic destiny, it is politically torn from the inside. There was no unity of power, unity of command. Of course, if everything was as it was supposed to be, only the supreme commander, President Martic, could order the evacuation of civilians. He would never do that.

[Moderator] Where is Martic tonight?

[Karadzic] In one of our towns. Perhaps he will come back.

[Moderator] You mean call us?

[Karadzic] Yes call us. He came back, he is here. He did not leave. We have been hearing some very sad stories. However, he stayed with his soldiers and was among the last to come here. In a normal country, a lieutenant or just any low-ranking official on the level of a municipality cannot just make a call, as President Koljevic said, and say: "This is the minister of this or that. Pull out." Any Ustasha from Belgrade [as heard] can call and say: "This is Belgrade. Evacuate the civilians."

From the example of our sister, the Krajina, we realized how unity of power can be destroyed, that the unity of command and leadership can be destroyed. Even if it is upside down, we must have a pyramid and know exactly who can make the decision and who can carry it out. I am convinced, and many soldiers also say, that Krajina could have been defended for three to four months. I know from personal experience how hard it is to seize a town if it is defended. Take Sarajevo, for example. The separation line is only 50 meters wide. Neither side has been able to do anything for almost three and a half years. We did make a little progress at Betonara and other places. But if towns are defended, they can be defended quite successfully. Something happened

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there. There was chaos. Something precipitated the fall, and I fear that the decisive factor was the fact that the people's faith in their leadership was shaken. Rumors were spread about their leaders. Ultimately, a people that does not have faith in its strength and its leadership and that does not feel the unity of the state, the unity of policy, the Army, that people start to be confused.

That is why I am very angry to hear that there are speculations about what we are doing and that some are even trying to cause a rift, to say who is behind Mladic and who is behind Karadzic, etc. That is impermissible! Karadzic must be behind Mladic, Mladic must be behind Karadzic. Karadzic must be behind all his officers, and all his officers must be behind him. Whatever decision I make, it must be implemented, because it will be less of a problem if it is implemented than otherwise. If it is not implemented, then we are in trouble. Looking at what happened to Krajina, we realized that we must preserve state and political unity and that we must know exactly who is in charge of what. We now have wartime presidencies that function very well on the ground. And we know that no major decision will be made without consulting the president of the wartime presidency. And he will not make any decisions without consulting the government or the presidency of our republic, or the assembly. I fear that was the reason behind the fall of Krajina. And this is where we differ from them. We have extremely stable and firm civilian authorities, and it is here not possible that anybody does something he has not been authorized to do.

Other factors that precipitated the fall of Krajina, although I would never agree not to retrieve it by military means, including western Slavonia [sentence as heard]. I recently said that, just as Cicero said Carthage had to be destroyed, if Croatia pounces on the RSK, Croatia must be aware that the Serbs will be against the Croatian state as long as they exist. Against a Croatian state that includes the RSK. And it can be retaken any time, preferably as soon as possible. If Belgrade was determined today, we could unite and regain our territory, and Croatia would have to accept the fact that 12 to 13 million Serbs have more rights and more potential than 3.5 million Croats.

[Moderator] [passage omitted] What do you think about the statement of the Croatian defense minister that armed Muslims will launch an all-out offensive on the territory of the entire Serb Republic?

[Karadzic] They never stopped their offensive. Their all-out offensive is still under way. What good did it do them? Thousands, tens of thousands dead soldiers.

[Moderator] A viewer from Sanski Most asks whether they have to leave Sanski Most.

[Karadzic] Absolutely not! Sanski Most is far from every front line. People are not even moving out from Ilijas, Hadzici, Ilidza, anf Dobrinja where only two walls separate us from the Muslims. That is out of the question. That would be an unprecedented act of cowardice on our part! Every house must be defended and can be defended. The inhabitants of Krupa are not even considering leaving their town. They have been bravely holding out for three and a half years. Evacuation is imposed on us by various troublemakers who make telephone calls, spread Tudjman maps, and confuse people, persuading them to leave. And when the wife and children go, the soldier is easily swayed. It is strictly forbidden to leave! We will evacuate if it comes to that, just like we evacuated from Grahovo and Glamoc. But we will return. By the way, we are making advances on those fronts, we must inform our viewers. However, I appeal to all viewers and all our municipal and other officials: There will be no moving out, nor can we think along such capitulatory lines. Especially as our military situation is very good.

[Moderator] Ms. Plavsic, you have recently made quite a few visits and spoken to people out there. Frankly, there has been some misunderstanding between the political and military leaderships in the Serb Republic. Actually, the military-political leadership is also the military leadership, but there was some misunderstanding about that. Tell us what the generals think. There have been much speculation about that, especially in some Belgrade newspapers. It was even described as a military coup.

[Plavsic] First of all, our professions make us very different. For the first time in my life, I have made extensive contacts and established friendly relations with the military structure. I found very nice people there. But the path they have taken since their childhood and my path, and perhaps the path of most of us.... [changes thought] My profession is radically different than theirs. You know that, just as doctors take the Hippocratic Oath, scientists, too, pledge to search for the truth and nothing but the truth. Our officers went to school at the time when the truth was what the officer said.

[Moderator] But national interest is here at stake.

[Plavsic] Of course. But you see, I believe that officers, soldiers, and commanding officers have, apart from their patriotic call, a professional challenge. For example, I have heard of al-Qadhdhafi. He is a born soldier. Life in a tent and the creation of a militant atmosphere are inherent in him. And there is no war there.

From the viewpoint of my profession, I would be terribly disappointed if I could not do anything practical in

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my profession, if I could only learn theory. Our officers are lucky that they can manifest their professional skills and exercise their patriotism at the same time. These are very challenging times. I sometimes envy them. I very often went to the front lines, and it seems to me that everything is very simple there.

[Moderator] A straightforward question for Mr. Krajisnik. Will all this cause a rift among the Serbs in the Serb Republic, and why now?

[Krajisnik] I think all the Serbs in this war are not doing their patriotic duty because of money or merely because it serves their interest.

[Moderator] They do not get any money. Or perhaps they do get paid something after all.

[Krajisnik] They do it to help establish their country. If that is their primary goal, if the state comes first, and all our personal animosity toward some phenomena and some people are less important, then there cannot be any rift. I am convinced that there will be no rift. This nation will not accept anybody who promotes the rift. The people want a state, freedom. And if we manage to give our people three values, state, freedom, democracy, we will have done everything. First of all, there is no chance of causing a rift, because our nation has consolidated, it is determined.

[Plavsic] If I may add something. The Serb nation is reluctant to sing about victors, but readily includes traitors in their epics.

[Moderator] A question for Mr. Koljevic. How would you characterize the relationship between the military and civilian authorities in the Serb Republic? In light of the present circumstances, after the conversation between President Karadzic and General Mladic?

[Koljevic] The Army and the Supreme Command Headquarters are well aware of the fact that I visited them most often, that I even paid unofficial visits, because I believe in Serb cordial relations. I would like to know if anybody visited them more often. Perhaps some did and I am unaware of it.

As I said at the beginning, the Army has a specific moral trait. In these forcefully atheist times, I said that at the beginning of the war, the Army was our last church with all the wrong icons. "Last church" refers to the fact that honor, truth, and lies were far more important to the Army than to most civilians. However, to continue with the church metaphor, the Army should know that there is a certain hierarchical order in the church. Subordination is the main principle. [passage omitted] You cannot obey only the commander of your brigade and your corps. You must obey your supreme commander. Once we have resolved that....

[Moderator] And we can do that....

[Koljevic] I think there is no other way, we must resolve that.

[Karadzic] I agree. First of all, military authorities exist only in countries after a military coup. All other countries have state authorities and the Army as a state body. Of course, the Army will always reproach the civilians for something and vice-versa, because they have two different approaches, different views. However, the president of the republic is military and civilian leader at the same time, the head of both the Army and the state.

[Moderator] That is besides the point, the question is whether that can be....

[Karadzic] Of course it can. There is no doubt about it. Everything we do is based on the law. People may not always like it, but the making of a decision and its realization must never cause a rift. Only if there is resistance to the realization of an order, if somebody is looking for followers to back him up....

[Moderator] Or makes a different decision.

[Karadzic] Or make another decision. We do not think it will come to that. It must never come to that. This is a crucial moment. You see, now we had to concentrate the power at the top of the state, including the Army command. You see what happened in western Slavonia, for example, and then also in the RSK. We cannot allow that. Everyone must carry out orders to the full. If they do not, if low-ranking commanders, municipality presidents have their own views, if they do not carry out orders, that will be the end of us. All orders must, therefore, be carried out.

[Moderator] [passage omitted]

[Karadzic] As I said, I am very sorry, although I respect all deputies, even independent ones, that only the independent deputies refrained from voting at the Assembly session. And now it seems that they support Mladic most of all. Moreover, I am sorry to see the propaganda.... [changes thought] NASA BORBA, the opposition newspaper, for instance, lists all Mladic's failures, while NOVOSTI lists all his successes. And now it seems that....

[Moderator] ...that the question is whether we are for or against Mladic.

[Karadzic] Or that Mladic is supported by some forces in Serbia although I am certain, he even told me so

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himself, that he does not want to represent their interests and that he would never accept that. All that happened due to a lack of coordination in carrying our all the orders of the state leadership. Orders must be carried out, even if I had to be a receptionist for a while. Is this a state of war? Yes. I will be a receptionist, I will finish my job, and try to improve my image later on.

[Moderator] What function should Gen. Mladic perform now?

[Karadzic] He still has not undertaken his duty, nor has this decision to transform all that into the Supreme Command Headquarters been implemented yet. We give orders to the headquarters. The headquarters, i.e. just one officer, passes the order to the people on the ground. Our orders are being carried on, I cannot say that they are not.

[Moderator] So, everything is functioning well.

[Karadzic] Yes, everything is functioning. For the time being, we do not know and do not care whether it first goes to the first and then to the second or to the second to the first. [sentence as heard] It is more important to see that all our orders are ultimately carried out.

We are asked what we have against the Army? We have nothing against the Army. This is our Army, our children. We have everything against a small number of officers, and soldiers have everything against them, too. As a rule, officers who engage in politics, who are against the authorities, who do what they are not supposed to do, they are not liked by their soldiers. Their soldiers do not know them, those officers are not down there in the trenches with them, etc. This is an insignificantly small number of officers. In other words, we cannot speak about a misunderstanding between the civilian authorities and the Army, but about a misunderstanding between state bodies and a very small number of officers who think they could lead the country, that socialism should be preserved, and what not. Our soldiers, we are not allowed to say how many we have, some 95 percent of our soldiers support the will of our people, support the Serb state.

[Moderator] Tell me one thing: In keeping with this concept, will Gen. Mladic remain at the very top of the decisionmaking about the Army?

[Karadzic] He remains near the very top, where decisions are made. The Supreme Command creates the overall policy, but one man must make decisions and sign them. He will not make it as he pleases; that will be a collective decision.

[Moderator] A caller from Laktasi wonders why Belgrade Television "Dnevnik" is not being broadcast and why Lt. Gen. Ratko Mladic, Serb Republic Army commander, was replaced? We have said quite enough. Regarding the first question, let us say that our channel is a state-owned one and that we have a right to change our program to suit our needs. This time, there was a need for this special program. Otherwise, we have been carrying the Belgrade newscast for three and a half years now, while Belgrade Television did not carry a single second of our programming. [passage omitted]

[Karadzic] Regarding the officers that I mentioned before, state bodies must not conduct any campaigns against those officers, although soldiers are very angry at them and criticize them. However, there are a large number of officers who are supported and liked by their soldiers. No campaign against officers can be conducted on the ground! That is my duty. I should be informed about which particular officers is making trouble. This refers to Gen. Mladic in particular. He remains with us at the top. We will see what his function will be, and we will cross the finishing line together. He has done so much, and he is a very fine man. The state leadership must, of course, be supported and its decisions must be implemented. Everything that is wrong must be reported and I am obliged to.... [changes thought] Civilian and military structures cannot intertwine on the ground. They are intertwined at the top of the state. The civilian and the military structures are joined by the head of state, whoever he is. Municipality presidents and brigade commanders must not start fighting on lower levels. Municipality presidents must inform me about what needs to be mended, and I will talk to brigade commanders, see what happened, and make a decision. Those two structures must not come into conflict nor launch campaigns against each other. Unfortunately, some local commanders were [word indistinct] the authorities. The authorities used to interfere with the immediate command line as well. That cannot and must not happen in a normal state. That is why we have a pyramid of power, and we will settle this in a reasonable manner at the top.

[Moderator] [passage omitted] A viewer from Loznica asks Mr. Krajisnik: What is the reaction of people from the Serb Republic and the RSK to Yugoslavia's conspicuous silence?

[Krajisnik] You see, the topical issue is whether we were betrayed, whether this people has a right to be protected by its mother country, because the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [RFY], especially Serbia as well as Montenegro, must feel the need to protect its nation outside Serbia. Serbia even has a ministry to care about the Serbs outside Serbia. The Serbs in the Serb Republic are bitter. They cannot understand that not everybody sees that it is an imperative and

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absolutely impermissible not to defend the Serbs in the Serb Republic and the RSK. Believe me, I find it harder to speak about the RSK. Perhaps it has more rights, for the Vance Plan makes it clear that the RSK will be defended. We must cope with the historical problem, however, with the lack of unity that is forced on us. The Serbs in the Serb Republic will manage to defend themselves, God willing.

[Moderator] That is what a viewer from Samac wants to know: Is Croatia strong enough to crush the Serb Republic?

[Krajisnik] Croatia has some force. It is not very strong. People often complain that greater Croatia is being created before the eyes of the whole world, while we are accused of creating a greater Serbia. Our disunity and our abstinence in helping the Serb Republic helps the Republic of Croatia. But the message of this discussion, not because we are angered by this situation, is that the Serb nation will pay Croatia back and with interest. It has a right to do so, for we experienced genocide once before in history, in World War II. What is happening today is more a sign of impotence and restraint on behalf of some forces, not Serbia, that would be a very grave accusation, than of Croatia's strength.

[Moderator] Mile Tesic of Zvornik wants to know whether the weapons and the military hardware of the RSK Army was pulled out?

[Koljevic] I would leave that question to the supreme commander.

[Karadzic] I think that almost everything that was in working order was pulled out. We now have more weapons than units. I think the Army did well. The Army fought particularly well down there in Dalmatia, in Banija, and Kordun. Those units in Lika did a good job as well. I think they managed to pull most of it out.

[Moderator] A viewer from Banja Luka asks whether the new separation line between Croatia and the Serb Republic between Novi Grad and Kostajnica is stable. Let us ask Mr. Koljevic, he just got back.

[Koljevic] I also answered some questions, and since the caller is from Banja Luka, let me say that the separation line is extremely stable and that there are no problems. You mentioned the blasting of the bridge, at the beginning. The Croats obviously fear that we will help our brothers in the RSK. It is not that they intend to cross over to the Serb Republic. This is obvious. Let us remember the beginning of the war when they were blowing up bridges. But this one will not help them. There are other bridges, other ways to cross the river. This is just Croatian triumph over their experience in the conflict with the Serbs.

[Moderator] A viewer from Sabac asks whom the Croats should thank for the surrender of Krajina? She thinks Krajina surrendered.

[Plavsic] I fully agree.

[Moderator] Let us hear somebody else, then.

[Karadzic] But whom should they thank?

[Plavsic] I can tell you that, too.

[Karadzic] Let's keep that a secret.

[Moderator] Yes, let's keep that a secret.

[Krajisnik] Excuse me, perhaps I should say this. We can find whatever justification we want. You can do everything on paper and in speech. But right now, everybody is responsible for the RSK in their own way. Those who caused a rift in the RSK and did not perform their duty in keeping with the Vance Plan are the most responsible. It was unfortunate that the RSK was politically consolidated for the first time.

[Moderator] But it was too late.

[Krajisnik] The moment it got consolidated, it was attacked by Croatia.

[Plavsic] Excuse me, let us not disregard this question.

[Moderator] Mr. Krajisnik answered the question.

[Plavsic] Let me expound on it, for it is very important that I tell you this. The people must trust us 100 percent. We must not forget about morale. Our goals and the faith people have in their leaders are our great resources, you know. And that is why I must let it out in the open. We do not have documentation to prove it, but a scenario was made in Belgrade, and I do not know where the agreement was made, and is now being slowly realized.

[Moderator] In other words, you think this was staged.

[Plavsic] Absolutely. It is now up to us to prevent the scenario from being realized wherever we can. You see this campaign against the leadership of the Serb Republic...

[Moderator] And the rift between the leadership and generals.

[Plavsic] Yes. This is a very complex scenario that was written by somebody outside the RSK and the Serb Republic.

[Koljevic] Perhaps it was not written by one person only.

[Moderator] Yes.

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[Plavsic] Perhaps it was team work.

[Karadzic] I find it incredible that Croatia is certain that Yugoslavia, as the guarantor of the Vance Plan, will not intervene.

[Moderator] And Croatia could attack without worrying about Yugoslavia.

[Karadzic] That is unprecedented. Germany did not know that the world would let it seize Czechoslovakia. It did not know that it would be allowed to seize Poland either.

[Moderator] It was attacked by England when it seized Poland.

[Karadzic] The world allowed Germany to swallow Czechoslovakia, but England waged war over Poland. England went to war to prevent Hitler's scenario, to realize the scenario written by the allies.

[Plavsic] Mr. President, political ethics existed in those times. We seem to be living in a time when....

[Karadzic] I think this is not just the problem of political ethics, but of the people in Serbia, in Yugoslavia. How long will they let the Serbs be crushed bit by bit? I heard that a great many people volunteered to work at the Niksic ironworks. Our ministers have determined points at the Drina River where volunteers can register.

[Moderator] Are there volunteers?

[Karadzic] Of course. There are tens of thousands of volunteers. They must be allowed to cross.... What I am trying to say is that Churchill did not defend Poland because he loved Poland. He did it under pressure of the domestic public, of political circumstances. They knew that if Hitler seized Poland, too, he would be so powerful that he would be able to seize England some day. By the same token, we must be aware that, if a greater Croatia is created including all Serb territories west of the Drina River, God forbid, there will be no Serbia.

[Moderator] Petrovic Dragan of Sabac wants to know why did you not order the bombing of Zagreb? Shall we skip that one?

[Karadzic] Well, that was up to President Martic. On the other hand, I believe our shells should fall there where our soldiers are likely to tread, not where our soldiers will never go. That would be just punishment for Tudjman. I think we should rather use our ammunition to target the lines we want to cross.

[Moderator] This is the question of our viewer from Banja Luka. Why do we not end the war since we have the weapons?

[Karadzic] Can you not see that our hands are tied? Never before was such a small portion of a nation, less than 2 million Serbs, under such pressure. The whole world is against us, and our mother country keeps our hands tied, to boot.

[Moderator] But they still cannot hurt us.

[Karadzic] They still cannot hurt us. Our sister state got hurt. Though I must underline that, just as Cicero said Carthage must be destroyed, we must retake Krajina. That can be done, the Serbs can regain Krajina.

[Moderator] A viewer from Vlasenica wonders why does the Serb Republic not use its Air Forces?

[Krajisnik] Those are just details. However, many factors influenced certain problems in the present action, so if we said that we used the Air Force, the viewer would be no better off, since the outcome is such as it is.

[Moderator] Yes, but we can use our Air Force.

[Karadzic] We did use the Air Force, we agreed to use it where necessary.

[Moderator] Ljilja of Novi Grad wonders if Novi Grad is a safe border now?

[Karadzic] Before coming to the studio, we contacted the Novi Grad leaders. We talked to them and the police, special forces, etc. We took some measures. We believe it is easier to defend Novi Grad than Sarajevo, for Novi Grad has a river and plenty of weapons and soldiers. We are certain that the Ustashas will worry more about us crossing over to them, as Mr. Koljevic said, than we should worry about them coming over to us.

[Moderator] A viewer from Banja Luka wants to know if there is a possibility that Banja Luka could come under attack.

[Koljevic] I would like to answer this one. You see, such questions are very frustrating. I think those people should ask themselves why they pose such questions. I was asked a similar question in Drvar the other way. They asked me what would happen to Drvar. I told them that whatever happens to the Serb Republic would happen to Drvar as well. And the man thanked me as if I said God knows what. Of course we will preserve it all if we fight!

[Moderator] And Drvar is free today.

[Koljevic] Yes, it is free today.

[Karadzic] We pushed their artillery further back.

[Moderator] They can no longer reach us.

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[Koljevic] But if we give it up in Banja Luka and ask such questions, we will only make it worse for ourselves.

[Moderator] If the population of Ilidza had asked those questions, they would have all moved out a long time ago.

[Krajisnik] Mr. Koljevic is right. You see, we must realize that we can either survive intact as the republic, or lose the republic. You cannot save one part of the country and give up another. It would be no good if we saved the western or the eastern part of the country. We must defend the entire Serb Republic. We are all sad to see Grahovo and Glamoc temporarily occupied. We must all fight for Grahovo and Glamoc. Not just the local population. They defended the two towns like heroes, and their leaders were very brave, too. We must consolidate our forces and overcome the commotion caused by a large number of refugees. We will solve that and defend ourselves. I dare those Croats, I dare Tudjman, to come to Banja Luka if they can! We know what our enemy will do. The Muslims and the Croats will do everything to exterminate us. And if we asked them to give us a state, we would never have our own state.

[Moderator] [passage omitted] A viewer from Banja Luka wants to know whether there is a conflict between the FRY and the Serb Republic.

[Karadzic] Frankly, Yugoslavia imposed sanctions against us, i.e. President Lilic, not President Milosevic. Yugoslavia criticizes us, etc. President Lilic will go down in history as the man who imposed sanctions on the Serb nation, the man who suffocated the Serbs, the man who forced the Serbs to accept something that is unacceptable, the man who, and he is the supreme commander of the armed forces, did not order that the Serbs in the RSK be defended, and the man who let the Independent State of Croatia, who allowed the followers of Pavelic's state, Pavelic's regime to establish themselves by seizing the Serb land inch by inch. In short, formally speaking, Lilic is the boss of Yugoslavia.

[Moderator] And who is really its boss?

[Karadzic] Historians will tell....

[Plavsic] Our people have already composed epic poems about what really happened, and they blame it all on President Milosevic. You spoke from the formal point of view, while the people and their epic poems speak about....

[Karadzic] I am trying to compare our position with that of President Lilic, for instance. At what price would we agree to masquerade in a function and go down in history as traitors? He should either fulfill his function or resign.

[Plavsic] You have provoked me to say that Mr. Lilic was appointed president because he could do that.

[Koljevic] I would like to get back to the question of conflict. It takes two to enter into a conflict, just as it takes two to have a love relationship. Consequently, conflict is not a good word in this case. We can only call it an attack, for we have not entered into conflict. We do not respond to that.

[Moderator] We still love Serbia, and we will always love it.

[Koljevic] Yes.

[Plavsic] Of course.

[Krajisnik] I agree with Mrs. Plavsic, President Karadzic, and Vice President Koljevic. We know who is officially responsible for this conflict. However, no intellectuals, politicians, deputies, government members, or all those who have perhaps done nothing wrong will be able to clear the blame in Serbia and Montenegro. For, in these times, every person must make his own contribution. Serbia is simply.... [changes thought] Do you remember the slogan "Serbia will not bend?" Or something like that.

[Koljevic] Serbia will not bend its knees.

[Krajisnik] Yes. And Serbia did bend its knees. I know that Serbia has problems, and I always try to justify it, for the whole world committed a crime against the Serb nation, against Serbia and Montenegro in particular. But a certain moment calls for maximum effort. Threats must be made, one must get involved to save the Serb nation. They simply have no right to remain passive.

[Moderator] [passage omitted]

[Karadzic] I would like to add something. Why is the military and political situation false in the context of that alleged argument with Yugoslavia? Alleged argument, for we are really not arguing.

[Moderator] A one-sided argument.

[Karadzic] Yes, they are having a one-sided argument, while we have a one-sided love, unrequited love. You see, they did everything to destroy the political leadership. They could not find a single traitor in the Presidency, we have a president and two vice presidents, in the Assembly, in the parliament, I will not call those who obeyed them traitors, they simply swerved. They did not find a single traitor in the Army, either. They could not drive a wedge between us and that makes the

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Serb Republic a guarantee that this nation will survive and that, God willing, we will retake Krajina. Why could they not destroy us? Because I keep no secrets and my aides are not keeping anything from me either. Nor are all of us keeping any secrets from the parliament. And every deputy is aware of that. Consequently, the stories about deals, about selling towns, that is just enemy propaganda. Nothing was sold! We would never do it that way. We would make an agreement, but first present it to the parliament, because no man can do it on his own. I can initial it, like in Athens, but the Assembly must adopt it.

[Moderator] Like with the Vance-Stoltenberg Plan.

[Karadzic] Owen-Stoltenberg Plan. You see, we take it to the Assembly, and if the Assembly feels that it does not have a right to give a village or a town, then we will organize a referendum. Jajce was not sold, not a single inch was sold.

[Moderator] [passage omitted]

[Karadzic] People must not leave! We will not give them an inch of our country! I blame myself and thus also take the liberty of blaming all my commanders for the fall of Grahovo and Glamoc. And for the fall of Knin, as well. I am very angry. We simply had to make some changes. Losing 3 percent of the territory, losing Knin is no small change. No commander can let go of even an inch of our country, and the people must not move out, but be there for their soldiers.

[Moderator] Do we have enough food and weapons to defend ourselves?

[Karadzic] Yes, we do. We have been very successful for three and a half years.

[Koljevic] Rumors about the lack of ammunition are not true.

[Karadzic] We did not lose a single trench for lack of ammunition.

[Moderator] We have heard rumors that there were no mortar shells in Krajina, in the part that has fallen.

[Karadzic] Absolutely not! Indeed, we are a little behind our enemy as far as artillery ammunition is concerned, but that is not important. The enemy was behind us for three and a half years as far as artillery ammunition was concerned. But it is not artillery that finished the job in the end. It is the foot soldier that did the job.

[Moderator] A viewer from Prijedor thanks Mrs. Plavsic for her honesty and asks: Why did Milosevic not address the public to comment on the recent developments? It is sometimes not wise to be too honest.

[Plavsic] I will still be honest, and I must say that a head of state, especially in these trying times, Serbia is not in a very good situation, either, it is not good not to make contacts with the people, not to address the people. That is no good. President Milosevic seems to be unaware of some parts of the history of the Serb nation. The Serb nation wants and has a right, it feels that it owns its leaders, that it owns those who govern it. One must go to the people, get close to the people, extend one's hand, communicate with the people, represent its interests, instead of using the people to stay in power. This is my explanation.

[Moderator] Petar Milanovic sends word to the Serbs in Serbia who are watching that their children will never forgive them that they did not even go out onto the streets.

[Karadzic] You see, the fall of Obrovac threatens Obrenovac. Why do world wars begin? Because one side cannot allow the other side to take too much territory or to become too strong an economic or military force. Croatia must not get stronger! Serbia must be aware of the fact that if Croatia becomes large and strong, Serbia will not exist. And nobody in Serbia should not hope that they will not be attacked. They will be attacked! They will be attacked last. And Croatia will not stop until all their heads are chopped off. Right now, they should be thinking about mobilizing all of Serbia, all of Yugoslavia, they should put their foot down and say: "If you make a move, we will enter Croatia, finish it of, destroy it, and retake Krajina." Croatia should not have known that Serbia would not get involved. Akashi passed some information that Serbia would not get involved. It is like telling terrorists: "Here, take this one child, I will not defend it. Dismember it. I do not know whether I will defend my other child."

[Moderator] Milan Jankovic of Laktasi has a question for all our guests that, I think, can wrap up this discussion. Can you guarantee the survival of the Serb Republic?

[Karadzic] All four of us should answer that question. But not only the four of us, 1.5 million Serbs should answer that. That is if we have 1.5 million Serbs, if they are determined and ready to make sacrifices as before, nothing more. If every soldier, every officer, every corps commander, every headquarters commander, if they all do what they are supposed to do, starting from us here, if we are determined to make decisions and demand that they all be implemented, we can guarantee that. If anyone dares gather support for him or herself, offer another option that was not accepted at the referendum, create a parallel center of power, Mladic is now accused of doing that, but personally I do not think that he

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gathers officers who support him, etc., because I talk to him on the phone. If that should happen, nobody can guarantee anything.

[Moderator] So you believe that Mladic is not gathering support and that he is not breaking the unity of the country's leadership?

[Karadzic] No, so far he has not refused, indeed, he has not undertaken his duty yet, it remains to be see how and when that will be done, whether we will do it now, to carry out orders. He has an unusual nature, but I do not believe he is an exponent of those forces from Belgrade that are trying to make an instrument of him. He has always said that he will not and that he has no right to sign anything. He cannot be a traitor. He can be stubborn, can have faults, but he cannot be a traitor. There is no doubt about it. If he now tried to divide the Army, create a Chetnik or partisan army, he would be a traitor. He knows that he does not want to be one. His life is such that he cannot be a traitor.

[Moderator] A great part of his life is here, a part of his military career.

[Karadzic] Absolutely, Mladic without us and we without Mladic, that is not a complete history. That is a part of the history of the Serb nation. Of course, obstinacy can be tolerated during peace time, but we cannot have obstinacy and defiance in times of war. Only in that way, if the pyramid of power is complete and everything functions perfectly, only then can we give such a guarantee. I think that we can guarantee that, even if there were some cases of obstinacy, for the people are with us 98 percent. Unity of leadership, of both this leadership and wider, of the entire Assembly, entire government, the entire government is behind us 100 percent, the people support us, the Army supports us. Nobody dares to think that we cannot guarantee our survival! We can and must guarantee it!

[Moderator] Go ahead.

[Plavsic] Thank you. I will not miss an opportunity to say that we have often said that, when this war is over, the time will come to appoint dukes. Gen. Mladic is the first on the list, and we were not the only ones who have thought about it. I heard people say that as well: "Let Gen. Mladic stay with us and give joy to this people to declare him a Serb duke." Shall we win or not, endure or not? Of course we will make it. Those with clear-cut goals, and our goal is the Serb state for the Serb nation, we have bad experiences with other names for the state. That is a tremendous driving force, a tremendous energy, a motivation to make it all the way.

[Moderator] Go ahead, Mr. Krajisnik.

[Krajisnik] I think that we must tell our people, especially those in the western part of the Serb Republic, tell our Krajina-region inhabitants who are the pride of all past wars, that they must find the strength, that it is unlike them to move out, to withdraw before the Ustashas. The people of Sanski Most, Kozarska Dubica, Novi Grad, they are the offspring of those heroes who lived here for centuries, and they must stay. We will do our best to protect the population, to help them deal with all their problems, but we must have faith and hope. The nation that has faith and hope will win. I am certain of that. Not because I am too optimistic. The enemy can never have the strength to match our willingness to defend our country. This is not about creating our country, we have already done that. We do not have a right to sacrifice freedom, democracy, all that we wanted to create all our lives. Today, all my family are exposed to mortar attacks. My mother is 70 years old, my father is 76. They say that they want to return to their village, which is occupied. Every one of us should set an example. There will be no deals when the state is concerned.

Regarding the rift, President Karadzic, Mr. Plavsic, and Mr. Koljevic are here. We know the hierarchy. I do not have a right to say: "I want to be the president now." We must serve our people. Gen. Mladic has done much to make us proud. He is a great general and a great man. After all, the enemy fears him. But there is no duality in the chain of command. As a responsible factor in the state, I must say that we must eliminate duality of command. I do not care how we go about eliminating it. Our people must get a state, and as long as there is duality of command, there is no state. And that is why we all serve the state. I would not even dream of becoming assembly chairman. I will be a private until the end, until we have formed our state.

About our prospects.... We did not want this war. It was imported. Pyromaniacs have imported this war and now pretend to be firefighters. But the two never go together. We pray to God that Serbia and Montenegro do not get involved in the war. We will be happy to have the Serbs from this region fight the war for the Serbian cause for the first time in history. But that cannot be done. There is so much evil around us that they are better off helping us and the RSK today to resist and threaten our enemy and to make it pay, than to fight in Sumadija and other parts tomorrow.

[Moderator] Can we make it on our own? If we relieve Serbia of that obligation.

[Krajisnik] Let me first quote President Martic who said: "We are doomed to win." We will win. For the enthusiasm of our deputies, of the entire nation, and this panic that is being spread will help our people to

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win. Not because we will radically confront them.... The Ustashas were here before, at the beginning of the war, and we managed to defend ourselves and will do so in future as well.

[Moderator] Mr. Koljevic.

[Koljevic] President Karadzic once said that the seed of chaos, like a plant, grows. You can prevent chaos if you destroy its seed. Duality of power is anarchy. That is why we must strengthen our power and centralize it from its root. Let me elaborate on Mr. Krajisnik's words regarding his proverbial optimism that makes our every morning when we meet at the office. If Laktasi were to hold out like Lukavica, Lapisnica, and the left bank of the Drina River, the Serb Republic will not be sidestepped.

[Moderator] Mr. President, you wanted to say something.

[Karadzic] I wanted to say that I agree with that. We do not have a right to allow chaos in the country. Another thing: We are still far from the position of the Muslims. Throughout the war, they were in a classic inferior position. Their only advantage is that they have access to dollars, Arab dollars, etc. But this nation is blessed. We produce, we have been fighting the war here for three and a half years and one year in the RSK. Four and a half years in all. For three and a half years we depended on our own resources. We have been under a blockade for a year, with our hands tied, and nobody is hungry, nobody is thirsty. There is no epidemic, there is no suffering. Look at what the Muslims went through in Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde. They should be moving out and they would, if the Muslims let them. The Muslims will all leave Sarajevo. They will leave before the Serbs. The Serbs will never leave the Serb part of Sarajevo. They will not give in. Bullets may fly into the kitchen while the woman is cooking and she will not leave. And the Mostar Muslims are physically prevented from leaving. They are not allowed to leave. When you think of that and hear somebody like Filipovic say: "We will get to the Una River, to the Sava River, to the Drina River," he is stirring up unrealistic hopes. Our hope is quite realistic. We do not have to say: "We will create our state by liberating another 20,000 square kilometers." We only have to liberate Glamoc, Grahovo, Kupres, the lower part of the Neretva River basin, and to improve some positions, exchange some areas for a tunnel to let them leave the area, or perhaps we will even seize it when the time is right. We think the area around Bihac is ours and that we should take it. Did I forget anything? The sea, of course. We should make a deal to get a part of the coast, but we will obviously not make any deals with the Croats, so we will just have to take a larger chunk. We have limited and quite realistic goals. That is all close, those are small areas, and we have already realized everything else. We only have to defend it now. Just remember how we defended Sarajevo in the major offensive. How we defended Kupres, Srbobran, and Vozuca. Of course, the entire republic is defending those areas. Grahovo cannot be defended by the local army units alone. Grahovo is a part of the Serb Republic, and it must be defended by the entire republic. Vozuca defends itself, but it is also defended by other brigades. Take a look at Doboj and Brcko. We can defend our country. We do not have to seize large parts of territory. Why should we not realize our goals? We will if we do everything right in this state. If every state body does its job right, if it stays out of other people's business, if orders are carried out, if there is subordination, we will succeed. And we are, therefore, very determined. All my aides support me in my determination during decisionmaking. I must tell my people: "We will fail if we take this road. We will succeed if we take that road." I must not keep silent if I see that we took the wrong road. Nobody has a right to be silent. We must tell our people if something is wrong. If you have faith in the leadership, then you must do as they say. For a headless state, a headless nation, a headless body cannot exist. You cannot have two or three heads. There has to be a host in the house. The host must be responsible, serve his people. He must not be a coward, he must be determined to lead his nation the right way.

[Moderator] Mr. Krajisnik says that the host must be strict, too.

[Krajisnik] I would just like to add that this is a message for our soldiers. Not every lost battle means that the war is lost. Furthermore, if they want us to regain the territory, and everybody should want that, then they should not go to Serbia. They should stay here. This nation will pay back both its friends and its adversaries. The time will come when we will pay them back with interest.

[Moderator] Would any of you like to say anything else?

[Karadzic] We have to serve our people. We have to be here so that they can ask us question. They have a right to ask questions, and we have to answer them. There is no other way.

[Moderator] You have to answer all their questions.

[Karadzic] All their questions.

[Moderator] Thank you for coming here.

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Karadzic Wants 'Huge Corps' To Liberate Krajina

LD0908162395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (SRNA)—Today, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, Bosnia Serb president and the supreme commander of its Armed Forces, stated that he expects the return of the soldiers of the Serb Krajina Army, the creation of a huge corps, and the launching of an action to liberate the temporarily occupied territory of Krajina.

Dr. Karadzic added that Dvor na Uni has been liberated and that the Serb Krajina Army is advancing towards Kordun and trying to liberate hemmed in units near Topusko.

The president said that the military situation in the Bosnian Serb Republic and Krajina would be considered at today's Supreme Defense Council session, and he assessed that the military situation on the defense lines of our republic is favorable.

Dr. Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, assessed yesterday's Croatian bombing of Serb refugees as "a crime unprecedented in history."

"Nothing else could be expected from those who are continuing the policies of those who began the extermination of the Serbs in World War II," Dr. Plavsic concluded.

Serbs Will Return in 100 Days

LD0908164295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, warned Croatia today that there would be no peace until the Serbs return to the territories from which they were evicted, even if fighting continues for 100 years.

"The Serbs had to move out of these areas in 1914, 1941, and 1991, and always returned to them as winners," the Serb Republic president said at a news conference in Banja Luka today, noting that "the Serbs will not need 100 years, they will need 100 days to return to their homes."

According to Karadzic, Croatia cannot count with having any sort of stability and security until the Serbs have realized their legitimate rights.

Speaking about the current situation on the front, Karadzic stressed that all defense lines were firm, and that the Serb Army was advancing in some areas.

"Our Army has been doing a very good job on the Bihac-Krupa and Glamoc-Grahovo fronts," Karadzic said adding that "Serb units yesterday achieved great successes when liberating Dvor na Uni; units of the Serb Krajina Army yesterday entered Karlovac, but there were no conditions to consolidate their lines and exploit that success."

Commenting on rumors that the population is moving out of certain areas, Karadzic categorically said that there is no reason to panic and that the population should not give in to such misinformation.

"The people that are willing to defend themselves cannot perish, this was confirmed by our firm defenses in border towns such as Srbobran, parts of Jajce, Teslic, Doboj, Modrica, Brcko, all the towns on the Sava river, Zvornik and nine Sarajevo municipalities, where war presidencies are functioning well," Karadzic said.

The news conference today was also attended by Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Karadzic, Martic View 'Defense of Territories'

AU0908205095 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Members of the state authorities of the Serb Republic [RS] met with the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], Milan Martic. The goal of today's meeting was to determine joint steps in caring for the refugees and defense of the western Serb territories. Drasko Ignjatic has a report:

[Ignjatic] Croatia should know that, from now and for a hundred years onwards, there will be no peace until the Serbs retrieve their territories. Croatia cannot count on peace and stability in the occupied territories, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic and supreme commander, said today in Banja Luka at the meeting of the RS leadership and president of the RSK, Milan Martic. Asked to what extent the RS can help in the defense of the RSK, President Karadzic answered:

[Karadzic] We are indeed confused.... Things could have been done in a different way, that is our general objection to the military organization on the whole, but we have already started to help, our units have taken Dvor na Uni, where they have (?sacrificed), and I think that, as soon as we consolidate a little, we will, along with President Martic's units, represent a respectable force and be able to liberate the Krajina, part by part.

[Ignjatic] After the meeting with the RS leadership, Milan Martic, president of the RSK, addressed local and foreign correspondents:

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[Martic] I am convinced that, even though my position is difficult, not to say the position of Yasir 'Arafat, that I will come back as the winner, because I know the mentality of our people very well.

In accordance with my announcement of yesterday and to my knowledge, everyone who can be a soldier is prepared to return and put themselves at the disposal of the authorities. Personally, I do not acknowledge the occupation, and as long as the last of the Krajina people exist, they must not acknowledge the occupation.

All the power-wielders, including Akashi, who tried to curry favor with the Americans, making sure he explained that Slobodan Milosevic provided guarantees that he would not interfere, and the Croatian propaganda also, announced every day that Serbia and Yugoslavia would not interfere. I would say that this is the main reason why the exodus took place; the people realizing that they were abandoned by mother Serbia, and that they had to withdraw in order to save their lives.

[Ignjatic] The RS president and supreme commander, Radovan Karadzic, emphasized that the situation on the western parts of the front was stable, and added:

[Karadzic] A people that wants to defend themselves, a village that wants to defend itself, a line that wants to defend itself cannot fall.

[Ignjatic] This was President Karadzic's answer to the question of whether it was possible to threaten the defense lines in the RS as was recently the case in the Krajina.

Koljevic: Bildt Could Not Close Eyes to Genocide

LD0908180195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (SRNA)—In Banja Luka today, Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic, welcomed the statement of Carl Bildt, chairman of the EU for former Yugoslavia, whereby Croatian President Franjo Tudjman could be charged with war crimes.

"Mr. Bildt simply could not close his eyes to the killing and ethnic cleansing, in a word, the genocide that Tudjman's Croatia committed in the Republic of Serb Krajina," added Koljevic.

According to Koljevic, clashes in former Yugoslavia were above all a European problem. "Mr. Bildt could draw an example from the history of Scandinavia and the agreement of 1905, which had made this region one of the most peaceful and stable ones in the world," the vice president concluded.

Mladic 'Not Attending' Supreme Command Sessions

LD0908162095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—Col. Gen. Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the Serb Republic Army, is not attending a session of the Supreme Command of the Serb Republic, as some information media are reporting, the information service of the Serb Republic Army main headquarters announced today. The service also denied reports that Croatian planes bombed Banja Luka airport today.

"Both pieces of news, which have been repeated several times during the day, are completely untrue and represent an attempt to manipulate politically the public media and spread rumors in conditions of an information blockade on members of the Serb Republic Army and on General Mladic personally," the statement says.

"In this way, we would like to reject these manipulations and appeal to information media in the Serb Republic to abide by their professional code of practice and not allow themselves to be an instrument for spreading rumors," the statement says noting that such rumors may have "unforeseeable negative consequences."

The Serb Republic Army main headquarters demands that the public media, news agencies, the press, television, quote authorized sources. With regard to combat actions, these are exclusively sources of the Serb Republic Army.

UN: RS Military Dominating Civilian Authorities

AU0908200395 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 9 (AFP)—UN officials on Wednesday [9 August] complained of new obstacles in Serb-held Bosnia marked by an increasing need to deal with the military authorities in what was seen as a sign of growing military predominance in the Bosnian Serb camp.

"Previously we were able to resolve a lot of issues through direct negotiation with civilian authorities, but more and more we are having to go through the military authorities," UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said.

The main issue is the movement of UN peacekeepers around Serb-held parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the military also impede aid convoys' access to Sarajevo and Gorazde, the one remaining government enclave in eastern Bosnia, he said.

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Bosnian Serb Army commander General Ratko Mladic "has given us certain promises. Most of them have fallen through, some have not, and we can only make an assumption over who calls the shots," Ivanko said.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] official Mark Cutts, who regularly deals with aid deliveries to Sarajevo requiring Bosnian Serb approval, said the UNHCR had lately had similar experiences.

"We have had more and more difficulties dealing with the civilian authorities. They don't seem to have the power that they once had," Cutts said. [passage omitted]

SDS Statement on Difficult Period; Urges Unity

LD0908171295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 9 Aug (SRNA)—The executive committee of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDS SZ] issued a statement today signed by Velibor Ostojic, chairman of this committee, and SRNA carries the full text:

"In this fatherland war the Serb nation is going through a critical moment. We have dropped the achievements of the national struggle and carelessly endangered them, especially because of bad and ill-conceived work on the global level.

"In the area west of the Drina and Danube, the Serbs, at the end of the nineties [as received] and in the difficult constitutional and political crisis in the former Yugoslavia, were able to choose, either to accept the secession of [parts of] Yugoslavia and the loss of constitutional and national rights, which happened to them in Croatia, or to begin resistance in order to remain within Yugoslavia.

"In order to carry out defense operations more successfully, the Serbs launched a national revolution based on the program principles of the SDS, and this meant, national reconciliation and the establishment of national harmony and unity, and a return to the church for the purpose of establishing high moral and national values.

"Only national reconciliation could produce these results of the struggle and the degree of creative fervor in the establishment of Serb statehood in these areas. However, powerful international factors which decided to violate the rights of the Serb nation, used all the elements of special warfare against the Serb ethnic area and engendered ideological clashes and political disagreements, which weakened and then broke down the internal defense potential, and brought the Serb nation to a situation in which the possible endgame might be unfavorable for it.

"The enemy of the Serb nation counted on the genetic inclination of the Serbs for division and dismemberment. Serb naivety, which stems from its spirituality, is a favorable area for hostile propaganda, the spreading of rumors and the production of elements of panic. Hence, tales of sold-out, ceded territory are skillfully rejected, or they intentionally draw maps, which all provokes confusion and incredulity, followed by negative reactions.

"The enemy inherited well-established mechanisms of power while at the same time the Serbs had to build and defend their state, develop the idea on the basis of the SDS program which functioned as both a national democratic party of the majority of Serbs and as a national movement of all Serbs. It is obvious that at the present juncture the Serb nation is encountering difficulties but it is at the same time clear that the Serbs still possess enough strength and potential to defend what they have attained: their national unity, their state and values.

"For this reason and at this critical moment the only solution lies in the SDS program, the defense, with the attained level of concord, overcoming political disagreements for the sake of higher national interests, putting collective interests above personal ones and the involvement of all Serbs. Internally the Ustasha enemy has more or less created all these prerequisites.

"This historical juncture, fateful and of Kosovo [battle] magnitude, requires the mobilization of all, but, at the same time, it will mark all those whose lack of action has unfavorably affected the course of events.

"The people will recognize who is doing everything humanely possible for defense and will point the finger at those who are standing by egotistically and silently while the decisive national struggle is going on.

"SDS members, its bodies and activists, will continue to work hard and make sacrifices in order to contribute to the struggle for its people. They will continue their principled and genuine effort in support of decisions of the supreme commander and president, Dr Karadzic. This means that all SDS bodies, institutions and individuals are required to implement these decisions."

Karadzic's Serbs Shell Bihac, Target Sarajevo

AU1008090195 Paris AFP in English 0840 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 10 (AFP)—Six shells slammed into the UN safe area of Bihac overnight UN officials said Thursday [10 August].

The town in the south of the Bihac enclave where Bosnian Government troops and the Croatian Army

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recently broke a three-year siege was targeted in the early hours of the morning, UN official Jim Landale said. "The shells exploded in the town centre," Landale said. The UN Security Council declared the city a "safe area" in 1993. Landale gave no details of casualties nor who fired the shells.

Bosnian Serb forces are positioned to the south of the town which has been free from attack for some time. Bosnian Government defenders in the enclave are currently engaged in fighting to the north where they pushed back rebel Moslem forces allied to the Krajina Serbs in Croatia, whose forces were routed by the Croatian Army in a four-day offensive.

Meanwhile in Sarajevo, UN officials reported two people fatally shot by snipers in a western city suburb early evening Wednesday. Overnight UN military observers recorded six explosions in the Serb-held suburb of Grbavica in the south the city.

On Thursday morning, UN spokesman Guy Vinet said there was a brief exchange of fire between government army units and Bosnian Serbs.

"Bosnian Serb forces fired 15 heavy machine gun rounds into the east of the old city at 7:20 a.m. (0520 GMT). Government soldiers returned fire with three rocket propelled grenades," Vinet said.

Bosnian Serb Commander Vows To Fight On

LD1008100095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2128 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—We have to defend our people and there is no retreat from the defense lines whatever the sacrifices, Col-Gen Momir Talic, commander of the [Bosnian Serb] 1st Krajina Corps, told Serb radio and television tonight in Prijedor. "We face a more inexperienced enemy who has not seen as much combat activity as our fighters have," Talic said in reply to a question about the new military situation. "Besides, we can see in the experience of the Republic of Serb Krajina that the enemy has always solved its problems with artillery fire and this is why we have set up our positions in such a way that this fire should not inflict losses on us, nor should we move our positions."

He added that the Serb Republic has now enough forces to defend itself and that one should not rely on any kind of aid. "Any kind of help is welcome, but we have to rely on our own forces," Gen. Talic says.

"The 1st Krajina Corps has always been as strong as the people in the terirtory it covers," the commander of this corps claims. "This is why we have to meet the necessary conditions, first of all to fight against the 'sixth column,' i.e. the people who are working against their own nation."

The "sixth column" for him are "people working against their own nation and who, by disseminating misinformation, try to bring about evacuations, move defense lines, draw their own maps and everything else [as received] about which neither soldiers nor people should not and need not think."

"We must fight against this column because it harms the people and soldiers and weakens the defense," he said.

Talic said the exponents of the "sixth column" are the people who betrayed "our state, who see the creation of our own state as something which is not in their interest, and who know that when the war ends they will be accountable before their people for everything they had done and for not having joined, on equal terms, in the struggle for self-determination and freedom of the Serb nation since day one."

Radio: Abdic 'Now in Zagreb Under House Arrest'

AU0908185795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, together with our country's delegation, visited the newly liberated territories of the Una-Sana Canton. At this moment, the delegation is in Zagreb. We have a report by [name indistinct] from there:

[Correspondent] The state delegation headed by President Izetbegovic, which includes Army General Delic and Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic, held a number of meetings with representatives of civilian authorities of the Una-Sana Canton, as well as with Division [Divizijski] General Atif Dudakovic.

During the visit yesterday and today, the delegation visited all liberated territories, including the territories under the control of Abdic's traitors, which were liberated the day before yesterday, and briefly stopped in Velika Kladusa and Cazin, the liberated strongholds of Abdic's autonomy.

This morning, the president and members of the delegation had a working meeting with representatives of the civilian authorities of the liberated Una-Sana Canton, as well as with Div. Gen. Dudakovic who reported about the success of the 5th Corps fighters.

As I report, the delegation is in Zagreb. A meeting with Croatian President Tudjman is under way. The meeting is dealing with the return of refugees, particularly those from the Una-Sana Canton who supported the criminal Abdic, the visit of state commissions on the borders of

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Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, as well as establishing border controls, withdrawal of the fighters of the Army 5th Corps who are on the Croatian territory and who, as is known, had taken part in liberating occupied regions of Croatia, as well as cooperation between ministries of internal affairs, that is, police of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Also being determined at the meeting is the fate of the criminal Abdic who is now in Zagreb under house arrest and who yesterday pleaded for help from the Croatian president.

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Akashi: UN Discussing UNCRO Force Reduction

AU1008082595 Paris AFP in English 0811 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 10 (AFP)—Talks have begun between UN officials and Croatia on cutting the 11,000-strong UN peacekeeping presence [UNCRO—UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] in the country, UN special envoy to former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said Thursday [10 August].

"I started negotiations with the Croatian Government yesterday (Wednesday). We would like to have a reduced but effective presence," Akashi said. "We will be thinking of reducing very drastically the size of our troops. Perhaps our future presence here might consist of military observers, civilian police, and civilian and human rights people."

Croatia's crushing victory over separatist Serbs in the Krajina region has radically altered the UN role in the area. There is, for instance, little need now to monitor demarcation lines between the two forces. Diplomats said Wednesday the United Nations was contemplating pulling out a large number of its peacekeepers with the UN Confidence Restoration Operation, perhaps limiting their role to a more passive observation mission. The UN mandate was due to end in November.

"I think it is clear that some of the duties are no longer appropriate so I think there will have to be an alteration," said Joe Sills, spokesman for UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, said late Wednesday. However, a total pullout of all troops is not being considered at this point by Butrus-Ghali. Most notably, soldiers will be kept in eastern Slavonia, the last remaining Croatian territory under Serb control, diplomats noted.

Meanwhile Akashi said he was "very concerned" about reported violence by people in the Sisak area south of Zagreb toward Croatian Serb refugees trying to flee toward Bosnia. "The local police are not doing very much to control that crowd (of Croat citizens) and I would like to appeal to the Croatian authorities to help keep law and order," he said.

Statement on Tudjman, Izetbegovic Talks

LD0908190595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The delegation of the Republic of Croatia, led by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the republic, and the delegation of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, led by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, had meetings yesterday and today in Zagreb.

Taking part in the talks on the Croatian side were: Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the president's office; Ivan Milas, parliamentary deputy and keeper of the state seal; Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; Deputy Prime Minister Bosiljko Misetic; Defense Minister Gojko Susak; General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of General Staff of the Croatian Army; Dr. Miomir Zuzul, special adviser to the president and Croatia's ambassador at the UN mission in Geneva; and Dr. Zdravko Sancevic, ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was made up of Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic; General Rasim Delic, commander in chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; Hasan Muratovic, minister in the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina responsible for relations with the United Nations; Bahir Alispahic, interior minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and Kasim Trnka, ambassador of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Republic of Croatia.

The talks at the meetings between the two delegations focused on the situation and development of mutual relations after the signing of the Split Declaration two weeks ago, and on the implementation of the Washington Agreements.

A joint statement issued after the talks stresses:

It was assessed that the latest events in connection with the liberation of some key Bosnia-Herzegovina towns and the reintegration of a large part of the hitherto occupied areas into the constitutional system of the Republic of Croatia, have crucially changed the strategic relations in the area. All the forces which are resisting Serb aggression have been invigorated and the positions of the Croat and Bosniak peoples have been strengthened. This has opened up, for both the nations and their states, new areas for separate and joint activities in the political, diplomatic, and military spheres.

It was assessed that this strategic turnabout in the region will make possible the renewal of the negotiating process and the achievement of a just resolution of the crisis in this part of the world on the basis of international principles, as well as a lasting peace, a balance of power and security, and good-neigborliness in southeastern Europe.

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The two delegations were pleased to assert and conclude that all the short-term tasks and plans set out in the Split Declaration have been fully completed.

The achievements hitherto and the satisfaction of the delegations, it was stressed, are yet further confirmation of the firm commitment and growing political will to strengthen and entrench the cooperation and alliance of the Croat and Bosniak peoples in these fateful moments for the survival of the two nations and their states.

Particular importance was ascribed here to joint, coordinated, and separate military actions and mutual support in the area of Bosansko Grahovo, Glamoc, Kupres, Kulen Vakuf, Donji Vakuf, and in many other places outside this area. The joint operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], and the Croatian Army in the area of the so-called Bihac safe zone, and the linking up of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Army at the border, was assessed particularly highly.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, expressed his particular gratitude to the Croatian side and to President Franjo Tudjman for their help in breaking the siege of Bihac, which lasted 1,201 days, and for their help to the inhabitants of the Bihac region and to the 5th Corps of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which allowed the consolidation of this area both in a military and in a humanitarian sense.

The two countries express dissatisfaction at the fact that, because of the failure of the UN Confidence Restoration Operation [UNCRO] to carry out its duties, a large number of members of the Serb irregular formations from the Republic of Croatia have been allowed to cross, with their arms and military hardware, into the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and this has contributed to the continuation of the Serb aggression, something which further endangers the sovereignty and territorial integrity of this state.

The demise of the plans of the Serb aggressors to conquer Bihac, and the simultaneous liberation of recently occupied Croatian territory along the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was assessed, is the beginning of the final end of all dreams of a Greater Serbia and the beginning of the annulment of the results of the aggression on the two peoples and their states.

In the light of the newly created strategic change, the two sides examined further joint actions in the political, diplomatic, military, and economic domains. It was concluded that all actions should be conducted resolutely in the direction of implementing both the Split Declaration and the Washington Agreement. The two delegations are resolute in their intention to take part in all peace efforts which are conducive to the urgent resolution of the crisis based on the well known and repeatedly voiced norms and principles of international law and relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly which will take into consideration the change in strategic realities.

In this light, particular emphasis was laid on the statement by President Tudjman with regard to the initiative by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, for a summit which should not only be more thorougly prepared, but which should also be attended by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. Stress was also laid on a joint letter sent by ministers Mate Granic and Muhamed Sacirego vic to Contact Group countries regarding mutual recognition and sanctions and the unacceptability of the so-called Bildt package.

Both sides expressed their determination to bring the situation in border areas back to normal. The two countries will intensify their efforts to develop economic and every other cooperation, linking up telecommunications and other infrastructure systems, jointly using border facilities and marking the border line in line with talks that have already started at the level of relevant bodies of the two governments.

The Republic of Croatia has reiterated its readiness to enable all refugees who are ready to recognize its full sovereignty, its Constitution and laws, and who have not committed war crimes to return home. The implementation of a joint agreement dated 8 August on the return of part of the Bosniak Muslim people to Velika Kladusa and Cazin was assessed as particularly important.

The delegations have again called on all international players to renew and strengthen their attempts to find a solution to the crisis in the area, restore peace and security, begin normalizing relations between all countries in the area, bring suffering to an end, and start economic and social renewal, the joint statement says.

Tudjman Signals Operation in Eastern Slavonia

LD1008110395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The president of the Republic of Croatia [Franjo Tudjman] visited Croatian defenders, soldiers, and policemen injured in the course of Operation Storm now being treated in Zagreb's Dubrava General Hospital. We have a report by Blanka Jergovic:

[Jergovic] One hundred and fifty killed and about 1,000 injured along the 700-km-long front are the consequence of a sharp military operation, President Tudjman said.

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[Begin recording] [Tudjman] Our public has the impression of a quick victory on one side and of the fleeing enemy, Chetnik forces on the other. However, we had to destroy the Serb Chetnik forces, their four corps. They did not just flee; our Army had to win and there were casualties. That they did not merely flee, but offered considerable resistance is borne by the fact that we have, it seems, about 150 dead and over 1,000 injured troops. This indicates that this was a fierce war for liberation.

[Unidentified correspondent] Foreign military analysts are saying that the fighting was minimal, after all.

[Tudjman] The casualties are minimal considering the strength of the forces involved and the size of the area, about 700-km-long front. They are minimal considering the importance to Croatia of this successful operation. The casualties, nevertheless, indicate that the fighting was fierce, that a real war was waged and not, as some think, that the Serbs merely fled. This is what I wanted to stress and, in that sense, any casualty, any death, and any injury is of inestimable value for Croatia's freedom. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Jergovic] Speaking to Lieutenant Klaric and other wounded soldiers, the president signalled a similar military operation in eastern Slavonia in which, as before, most care will be taken to sustain as few casualties as possible.

[Begin Tudjman recording] We will resolve that as well. We will again try to do it without any casualties, but if necessary, well.... [end recording]

Envoy: Slavonia 'Not Negotiable'

MS1008080795 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 9 Aug 95

[Interview with UN Ambassador Mario Nobilo by Jeremy Paxman; from the "Newsnight" broadcast—live; Paxman in studio, Nobilo in New York]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Paxman] How close do you judge we are to seeing an end to the war at least as far as it involves your country?

[Nobilo] Well, I believe that war in Croatia is over. We hope that the eastern Slavonia issue would be resolved peacefully in a package of the forthcoming peace conference in which sanctions and isolation of Belgrade would be also linked with recognition of Croatia and its international boundaries. Therefore I believe once we establish control over so-called Krajina the war in Croatia is largely over.

[Paxman] But you'll be aware that the Bosnian Serbs have said that they will do everything in their power to try to retake Krajina. Eastern Slavonia is not negotiable as far as you are concerned, is it?

[Nobilo] No, it is not, but as far as Karadzic statement is concerned they are weak enough and they are no match for Croatia any more. They are busy with arresting each other, and I don't believe that after this action anything would be the same. On the contrary, I believe that the deal in Bosnia between three communities, between federation and Pale authorities might be closer than ever.

[Paxman] If necessary, are you prepared to fight the Serbs in Serbia for eastern Slavonia?

[Nobilo] We are not going to cross international border of Croatia to fight Serbs there. We also hope that this issue would be resolved peacefully. Now, when we control the sector West and the former sector West and South, Croatia is not any more a crippled state, and we believe that with this four percent of territory which is still occupied we can put it in the peace package.

[Paxman] In that case, why wasn't your president prepared to go to Moscow today for peace talks?

[Nobilo] That idea was a kind of trap to divide Sarajevo and Zagreb, the allies of the victims of Serbian aggression. There would be speculation if they met that they are discussing division of Bosnia, that we are bettering Bosnians and also that we are upgrading Milosevic who is losing, as someone said before, he is losing importance in the whole process. Therefore, we would welcome any initiatives and a rush at this very moment in many capitals to grab momentum created by the new strategic shift after the successful Croatian action.

[Paxman] Ambassador thank you.

UN: Situation Extremely Tense

AU0908170295 Paris AFP in English 1651 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 9 (AFP)—Separatist Serbs in eastern Slavonia said Wednesday they had signed a joint military accord with Belgrade to counter any Croatian offensive on their territory, where the United Nations reported tension.

In a statement obtained by AFP, the separatists said that under the pact, "in case of aggression by the Ustashis (Croatians) against Slavonia,... (Serbia) will side with us and join us in defending this territory. Similarly, in the event of a renewed attack by the Ustashas, Serbia would go to war against Croatia," the statement said. Belgrade authorities did not confirm the agreement.

Meanwhile UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman Christopher Gunness said the situation

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in eastern Slavonia was "extremely tense" following "weeks of exchanges of fire in these areas." He said the United Nations had "observed a buildup of troops on both sides of the confrontation line as we have done for several months." But he added: "Because of extreme restriction of movement imposed by both the warring parties, we have no overall assessment of numbers."

The UNPROFOR spokesman called for restraint "because there is little doubt that a battle for Sector East runs the risk of involving Serbia and could see an alarming escalation of this conflict with all its tragic consequences."

Slavko Domanovic, mayor of the region's principal city Vukovar, said the agreement with Serbia meant that the separatists, "until now...divided and separated from Serbia, our mother country, are finally reunited." "We are 12 million (Serbs in ex-Yugoslavia), and we will become 312 million if necessary," he said, referring to a possible alliance with Russia.

The military agreement was reached at a meeting Tuesday of civilian and military leaders of the last remaining Serb-held area within Croatia with senior officers in the Federal Yugoslav (Serbia and Montenegro) Army, the separatists' statement said. It came after the final pockets of Croatian Serb rebels holding out against Croatian Government soldiers in the secessionist Krajina region signed a peace accord ending Zagreb's offensive there.

Diplomats feared Zagreb would then turn to oil-rich eastern Slavonia, which borders Serbia along the Danube, but Croatian ambassador to the UN Mario Nobilo said late Tuesday that Croatia had no "immediate" plans for military action there. "There is a major potential for widening the war with Serbia, and for that reason we will be patient," he added. "So we have no immediate intention to establish military control over our remaining occupied territory of Croatia." He said Croatia would be "patient" in anticipation of a peaceful resolution to the conflict over Slavonia, but did not rule out the eventual use of force if "down the road everything fails."

RSK Slavonia Corps 'Ready'

AU0908193995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 95

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Branko Kucekovic by Radio Vukovar reporter Vojislav Kajganin in Vukovar on 9 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kajganin] Lieutenant Colonel Branko Kucekovic, assistant to General Loncar in charge of information here in Vukovar, speaks about the day and the situation on the front in the area of responsibility of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps:

[Kucekovic] At 2200 last night, the enemy carried out a small-scale attack with tanks and infantry in the area of the village of Divos. The attack was routed successfully and one combat vehicle was destroyed on that occasion while several enemy soldiers were either killed or injured.

At 2215 followed an attack on Baranja with 15 rockets fired from a multiple rocket launcher to which we responded adequately.

In the morning the enemy forces opened sporadic sniper fire along the separation line. In these activities two Serbian soldiers sustained minor injuries and smallish material damage was incurred, too.

The situation was peaceful for the rest of the day and there were no provocations. The units are in full combat readiness and are carrying our their tasks as planned.

[Kajganin] Mr. Lieutenant Colonel, you said that the units are in full combat readiness and are carrying out their tasks as planned. Do you also expect attacks by the Ustasha units in some sectors where there were no attacks today and yesterday, for instance, judging by the movement of their troops?

[Kucekovic] The Ustasha attacks are possible in all directions and we are ready to meet them at any time.

RSK in Full Combat Readiness

AU1008103895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Statement by Lieutenant Colonel Branko Kucekovic, assistant to the "Information Commander of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps"; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] This has been the first night since the beginning of the aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina that was calm and was not marked by incidents. The units carried out their regular duties, but irrespective of the currently peaceful situation, we are in full combat readiness. We advise the citizens to follow instructions [words indistinct].

Belbat Reports Sporadic Shooting

BR1008101595 Brussels RTL-TVI Television Network in French 1700 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] A total of 730 Belgian Blue Helmets currently are based is eastern Slavonia alongside 1,100 Russian Blue Helmets. Philippe Dourt managed to talk with Belbat Commander Colonel

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Danau. You will hear that in this sector Serbs and Croats are shooting at each other only sporadically. However, troops remain massed at either side of the front line and the situation in extremely tense.

[Begin recording] [Dourt, from Beli Manastir in Baranja, provided by screen caption] For the 700 Belgian Blue Helmets deployed in Baranja, the announcement by Croatia that it prefers negotiations over the use of power to recover eastern Slavonia is good news. However, troops of the [UN] interposition force between Serbs and Croats remain vigilant.

[Danau] The two sides are in their trenches. Sporadic shooting is heard during the night, but there have been no offensive actions by either the Croats or the Serbs. We have contacts with both sides. Each side promised that they would neither shoot at nor do anything to harrass or hurt us.

[Dourt] Although the Blue Helmets were given these reassurances, they still must meet Serb conditions to move from one place to another.

[Danau] They force us to follow certain routes, but they say it is for our own safety. These are safe routes which we are certain are not mined....

[Dourt, interrupting] And you believe this?

[Danau] Well, I must say that so far we can still go to all our observation posts and to all our barracks. For the time being we can fulfill our mission despite our limited freedom of movement. But, it is true that we no longer can go wherever we want. [end recording]

Sanander Views Ties to Belgrade, Rome

BR1008113195 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 10 Aug 95 p 5

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader by "R.Or."; place and date not given: "Historic Compromise Between Zagreb and Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—*"At one time you in Italy reached a historic compromise between the DC [Christian Democratic Party] and the PCI [Italian Communist Party]. We in the former Yugoslavia must achieve one between the Croats an the Serbs, who are both numerically the largest peoples of the region. Croatia wants to normalize relations with Belgrade: From the economic viewpoint, they cannot do without us, and we cannot do without them."*

Ivo Sanader, 44, Croatia's deputy foreign minister, is an intellectual who studied and taught literature in several European countries before reaching the summit of the diplomatic service.

"The members of this government have an international background; we are very well aware that there cannot be politics without economics. This is why we must establish normal relations with the Serbs of Belgrade."

[CORRIERE DELLA SERA] So are those who forecast the establishment of a Serbo-Croatian axis to the detriment of Muslim Bosnia correct?

[Sanader] Definitely not. The Bosnians have nothing to fear, and the joint statement by Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic should dispel any doubts. We are not double-crossing them. Relations between us and Belgrade will be relations between two sovereign and independent states that are geographically close and whose markets are interdependent. We know that Slobodan Milosevic's government has for some time been considering the official recognition of Croatia's independence, which is the sole basis on which to build a lasting peace. Recognition will not come now, because our action in Krajina is too recent, and Milosevic would experience many domestic problems if he decided to do it right away. But I am sure that we will get there.

[CORRIERE DELLA SERA] But what will be the nature of relations between Italy and Croatia after the recent charges leveled by Tudjman?

[Sanader] Those charges were leveled not at Italy but only at certain political forces and their newspapers. You cannot interview the so-called president of the so-called Republic of Krajina without warning readers that he is a secessionist leader that has wrested territory from Croatian sovereignty by force. Furthermore, a number of members of parliament visited Knin to discuss the partitioning of Dalmatia.

[CORRIERE DELLA SERA] These political forces could be in the government some day. How would you behave if that were to happen?

[Sanader] When they are in government all parties have different attitudes from when they are in opposition. We shall see. For the present we want to improve relations with Italy, which is less present here in Croatia than other countries, Germany, for instance. Do not forget that some day the conflict in the former Yugoslavia will be over, and it will be necessary to rebuild and to integrate us into Europe once and for all.

[CORRIERE DELLA SERA] Who is obstructing the Croatian refugees wanting to leave Croatia?

[Sanader] It is certainly not us. Croatia has offered them the chance to stay, but if their decision is to leave, there will be no obstacles. In fact it is the Serbs who are preventing the exodus, from the other side of the border and by means of their troops, who are still

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present among these groups of civilians on the march to emigration. We do not know the reason for it, but this is the actual situation.

Police Investigate UN Human Shield Incident

LD0908135595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] With regard to the Danish Government's protest over the incorrect treatment by the Croatian Army of seven Danish UN Confidence Restoration Operation [UNCRO] members during the course of the Croatian advance, when the Danish soldiers were forced to march together with the Croatian Army toward Dubica, after which they were released, the political department of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia has announced the following:

Because the failure to carry out the order with regard to the treatment of UNCRO members who were caught in combat action, Major Dragutin Krznaric, the commander of the battalion of the 125th Home Guard Regiment has been detained by the military police so that the facts can be established and material evidence collected.

The public will be informed in due course about the findings of the operational investigation that is under way.

UN Protests Over 'Attacks' on Serb Refugees

AU1008120995 Paris AFP in English 1200 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 10 (AFP)—The UN Thursday [10 August] protested to the Croatian Government over attacks on some 200 Serb displaced people, including nuns, charging they were victims of the indifference of Croatian police responsible for protecting them.

Some 200 refugees were attacked Wednesday by an angry crowd in the region of Sisak, as they made their way along the motorway from Zagreb to Belgrade to travel to Serbia, UN spokesman Christopher Gunness told reporters.

He said some refugees, including nuns, were pulled from their cars and beaten, according to UN police officers.

Croatian police did not step in to defend them, according the UN. [passage omitted]

'Angry Mob' Attacked Serbs

AU1008110895 Paris AFP in English 1059 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 10 (AFP)—An "angry mob" attacked a stream of up to 25,000 Serb refugees journeying from Croatia to Serbia, a UN official said Thursday [10 August], following the Croatian offensive to recapture the secessionist Krajina region.

"As many as 25,000 refugees might have started moving overnight from Glina, but we don't have a precise figure," he said. "The convoy was attacked by an angry mob. It was stoned. Some refugees were beaten in front of the police. It was very nasty. We are quite appalled," he continued.

He estimated some 40,000 refugees could be left in northern Krajina in the region between Glina, Topusko, and Dvor.

Refugees 'Driven to Suicide'

AU0908184095 Paris AFP in English 1755 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 9 (AFP)—Rescue has come too late for some of the thousands of hungry and terrified Serb refugees hoping to flee Croatia's embattled northern Krajina region, driven to suicide through desperation as attacks and atrocities continue.

Skirmishes along the Croatian-Bosnian border were still hampering the safe passage of thousands of displaced Croatian-Serb refugees crossing into Bosnia despite a cease-fire, the UN said Wednesday.

The cease-fire deal was signed on Tuesday night between the Croatian Army and secessionist Serbs. However it did not include the Fifth Corps of the Bosnian Army which emerged from the northwest Bihac pocket, which it has been defending for four years.

Some refugees from among the thousands massed around the UN compound at Topusko in northwest Bosnia, unable to cope any longer, had either killed themselves or tried to commit suicide, UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said in Sarajevo. "The UN's main concern remains the plight of the tens of thousands of Croatian Serb refugees gathered in the area formerly known as sector north in Croatia," he told a press briefing.

"Conditions for the refugees are extemely dire. Thousands are still surrounding the UN compound in Topusko, thousands more are on the road to the Bosnian border, and thousands are gathering in Dvor (on the

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Bosnian border). The medical officer at the UN headquarters in Sector North is reporting many suicides and attempted suicides among the refugees. These refugees need urgent help and compassion."

His comments were backed up by a Red Cross official, Jessica Barry, who described the refugees' conditions as appalling. "These people are totally dehydrated, exhausted, and in desperate need of food," she said.

"They're terrified," added UN spokesman Chris Vernon. The way out for the sea of refugees was blocked by abandoned cars, and petrol had been distributed to their owners in a bid to clear the way, he said. According to Vernon, some 30,000-40,000 refugees were still languishing in the northern Bosnian town of Banja Luka and thousands more were expected. Aid officials were anxiously awaiting the establishment of an airbridge as reserves were fast diminishing.

The UN spokesman added that 13,000 refugees had already left Banja Luka for Serbia. Ivanko said the United Nations was looking into reports of shelling by the Bosnian Army on the road between Glina and Dvor, where columns of refugees were trying to make their way to Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Krajina Serb Forces Begin Handing In Weapons

AU0908170395 Paris AFP in English 1643 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 9 (AFP)—Croatian Serbs began handing over their weapons to the United Nations Wednesday [9 August] afternoon as a first group of refugees headed for Serbia across Croatian territory, UN officials said.

Serb forces handed in weapons at two arms decommissioning centres set up by UN personnel in Topusko and Glina south of Zagreb, a UN official said.

Meanwhile, a convoy carrying 1,200 Serb refugees, organised by Croatian authorities but escorted by UN observers, headed out of the Glina region for the main Zagreb-Belgrade motorway that cuts across Croatia from west to east.

Refugees Allowed To Depart

LD0908124595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Now let us hear what Adalbert Rebic, the head of the Croatian Government's Office for Refugees and Displaced Persons, had to say to our reporter Jadranka Kosor a while ago:

[Begin recording] [Kosor] Professor Rebic, where are you and how many people are on the move with you?

[Rebic] Well, I am on the way out of Topusko in the direction of Glina. I am heading the first group of Serbs who are determined to go to Serbia via Croatia. Of course, we would have prefered them to stay in their homes. However, we respect their wish and have been helping them in humanitarian terms. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Serb Refugees Criticize Krajina Leadership

AU1008095895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by S. Bisevac: "Refugees—Pawns in Political Games"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Two days ago, delegations of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent and the Yugoslav Red Cross visited reception centers for the refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina in Sremska Mitrovica and Bijeljina, as well as the border crossings of Sremska Raca and Pavlovica Cuprija. [passage omitted]

The Red Cross from Belgrade was accompanied by a large group of local and foreign journalists, but the Yugoslav border police would not allow the latter to cross the border or take pictures at the border crossing, apparently because they had received such orders from Belgrade.

The column of refugees at Sremska Raca was considerable smaller two days ago, probably because an agreement had been reached between Bijeljina and Sremska Raca on the organized crossing of refugees. The refugees were crossing the border in cars, tractors, and some improvised vehicles. Most of them were women, children, and the elderly, but there were also uniformed members of the Army and police of the Republic of Serb Krajina. Some of them were trying to smuggle their guns into Yugoslavia, but the border police would not let them.

At one point there was an argument between a civilian from Korenica, who had a gun in the trunk of his car, and the Yugoslav police. The refugee from Korenica, who parted only reluctantly with his gun, remarked that "the Ustasha and the Muslims are killing Serbs in Krajina, and they will not even let me take in one gun." [passage omitted]

Not one of the refugees had anything nice to say about the Krajina politicians ("What Babic, what Martic, what reserve positions!?"). Asked where they would be settling, most of the refugees had no answer, but they claim that none of them will stay in Bosnia because they have had enough of war. "We will all come to Serbia. I have heard that there are 100,000 Croats in Belgrade.

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They can give us their apartments and houses and they can go and take ours," one refugee from Knin told us.

DELO: RSK General Shells Own Refugees

BR1008112095 Madrid ABC in Spanish 10 Aug 95 p 27

[Report by "S.I.": "Bosnian Serb Aircraft Reportedly Shelled Serb Refugees Fleeing From Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Madrid—The Ljubljana (Slovenia) newspaper DELO reported yesterday through its correspondent in Pale on the accusations which Bosnian Serb General Gvero, who supports [Bosnian Serb Military Commander] Mladic, made against General Mrksic, [commander of the Krajina Serb military] a follower of [Bosnian Serb leader] Karadzic. According to Gvero, Mrksic is the person responsible for the recent shellings of Serb refugees fleeing from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

According to the report under the initials K.M. (which are those of a Croat correspondent of the newspaper who covers the news from Pale and Banja Luka, the Serb headquarters in Bosnia), Gen. Milan Mrksic ordered the shelling of the Serb refugees and of a building also occupied by Serb military personnel from Krajina, who were refusing to return to the front. The motive hinted at by the report is in fact preventing defections in the Serb ranks.

The report says literally that "Bosnian Serb Gen. Milan Gvero has stated that Bosnian Serb aircraft have again attacked with missiles, on Gen. Mrksic's orders, a column of military personnel and civilians coming from the areas occupied by the Croatian Army. According to Gvero, a building in which Serb officers who did not respond to Gen. Mrksic's order to return to the front in Croatia had taken refuge has also been attacked."

The DELO report relates the confrontation between Ratko Mladic, who was a general of the Bosnian Serb forces, and Radovan Karadzic, who recently decided to replace him. The report specifies that Karadzic left the meeting at which the Pale supreme command showed its support for Mladic, and that "he ordered the security service to detain all the generals who support Mladic. The police special units are already on a state of alert."

Sporadic Fighting Continues in Dvor Region

UN: Warplanes Bomb Region

AU0908135095 Paris AFP in English 1320 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 9 (AFP)—Two unidentified fighter bombers dropped four bombs in the Dvor region on the Croatian-Bosnian border, a United Nations spokeswoman said Wednesday [9 August]. The two MiG-21s attacked Tuesday in a region where conflict was continuing between the Croatian Army and secessionist Serbs, Major Rita Le Page said.

She did not specify whether the planes were Croatian, but she said three planes took off on Tuesday afternoon from the Croatian base at Pleso, near Zagreb. Bosnian airspace had not been violated, she added.

The UN was not in a position to indicate the targets or whether the bombs had caused any damage.

Fighting continued Wednesday morning in this region through which thousands of Krajina Serb refugees were travelling as they made their way to Bosnia, the UN said, following Croatia's lightning offensive to retake the secessionist Krajina Serb region.

The 5th Corps of the Bosnian Army, which entered Croatia a few days ago to help relieve the Bihac pocket, has been ordered to return to Bihac, Le Page added, but she could not confirm whether or not the unit had done so.

Serbs Claim Breakthrough

LD0908123295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—Soldiers of the Serb Krajina Army today succeeded in breaking through the blockade imposed by Croatian and Muslim forces between Dvor and Glina thus providing an escape route for thousands of refugees, TANJUG has learned.

Croatian forces have resumed strong artillery attacks on Novi Grad, causing civilian casualties. The Lignosper furniture factory has been set on fire in the Croatian attacks on Novi Grad.

Tens of thousands of refugees from Banija and Kordun in Krajina are passing through Novi Grad and they are the real target of Croatian attacks.

Serbs Advancing Toward Glina

LD0908182595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 9 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, August 9 (TANJUG)—After liberating Dvor, Serb Krajina Army troops continued to advance toward Glina in the northern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina, where they are trying to link up with the surrounded Serb Krajina civilians and soldiers, the Bosnian Serb Army main headquarters said in a statement Wednesday.

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It said that Serb defense lines on the Grahovo-Glamoc front in southwestern Bosnia and on the Bihac-Kupres front in western Bosnia were stable.

Croatian forces are continuing to open fire from planes and artillery pieces on columns of Krajina refugees, the statement said, adding that attacks had been particularly fierce in the area between Petrovac and Kljuc in western Bosnia, and between Novi Grad and Prijedor in northwestern Bosnia.

The statement denied reports about Croatian air attacks on the Banja Luka airport.

Muslim artillery fire on Wednesday morning sent the population of the northern Bosnian Serb town of Doboj to shelters. There are still no reports about possible casualties in the attack, the Bosnian Serb army said.

UN: Croatians Capture Dvor

AU0908171295 Paris AFP in English 1659 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 9 (AFP)—Croatian forces Wednesday captured Dvor, the last major pocket of resistance by Serb secessionists in the Krajina region, a UN official said.

Croatian forces raised their country's flag in the town of Dvor, located on the border with Bosnia, the official said.

Dispute Over Plans for Prevlaka Peninsula

95BA0296C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Jul 95 p 15

[Article by Branko Jokic: "Nudists Instead of Soldiers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Croatia and Montenegro are convinced that they have a historical right to that territory, and Karadzic's fighters are also interested in Prevlaka.*

Prevlaka, a peninsula at the entrance to Boka Kotorska, which has been considered a military base for decades, has become an apple of dissension and a cause of numerous threats between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and Croatia in the last few years, but may soon become an extremely attractive tourist resort. At least, that is what both sides are announcing.

The peninsula, which is somewhat more than 2 kilometers long and approximately half a kilometer wide, has never been settled. It has stony ground, in some places overgrown with shrubs, with cliffs that descend steeply to the sea, and also does not have any major sandy beaches. UN representatives are already on the peninsula. They are supposed to prevent possible conflicts between the Yugoslav and Croatian armies and the opening of a new Balkan battlefield, which they say would have considerably greater dimensions than the dispute in Bosnia. The members of the Blue Helmets are actually getting bored on this peninsula, because so far there has not been a single serious incident. The dispute over who will own the gateway to the bay of Boka Kotorska is taking place at the negotiating table, and both interested parties (Croatia and Montenegro) are convinced that they have a historical right to this territory, so that neither one is prepared to yield to the other even an inch of this barren but strategically extremely important land.

Recently, however, both sides have started some new maneuvers in connection with Prevlaka. They are emphasizing that they want to make the area into a tourist center, and will consequently build tourist facilities on the island. Of course, this is not a question of joint construction. First of all, Dr. Hrvoje Kacic, chairman of the Croatian State Commission for borders, stated that Croatia intended to bring yachts and nudists soon, because that was naturally better than having young men in military uniforms walking around the peninsula. Immediately afterward, officials from the Morsko Dobro public enterprise in Budva spoke up, and announced that they would soon build a tourist facility on that "demilitarized" peninsula; it would be called Kobila, and it would have 2,500 beds. They even announced the estimated value of the investment: 115 million German marks.

Of course, it would be far from being bad if either side actually carried out those tourist plans. It is hard to believe such promises, however. Specifically, Prevlaka is increasingly more reminiscent of a "Cape of Poor Hope" than a possible tourist resort. The peninsula has been literally plowed over and dug up, because the army has built numerous bunkers on it and dug countless trenches (we have heard that Croatia has about 12,000 soldiers on that part of the border, and there are no fewer members of the Army of Yugoslavia). In the immediate vicinity of the peninsula, in the area toward the Cilipi airport and Dubrovnik, shells fall more often (fired by the Herzegovina Serbs) than charter flights with foreign tourists arrive, as they used to do at one time, when the Cilipi airport in the summer was one of the most heavily used airports in Europe. In addition to the Montenegrins and Croats, Dr. Radovan Karadzic's fighters are also extremely interested in Prevlaka; they are convinced that "the peninsula will certainly become their property." They claim that they will have their outlet to the sea right there, as they were allegedly promised by the international community. This does not just involve Prevlaka, but also a broader zone between

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that peninsula and Herzegovina, i.e., the area all the way up to Cavtat and Dubrovnik.

Martic Pledges To Stay, Continue Fighting

AU0908182295 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] President Milan Martic appealed to all conscripts from the Republic of Serb Krajina, patriots from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and to all Serb expatriates to take part in the fighting, to help the army and the people who did not withdraw in spite of the Ustasha aggression. In his statement today sent from Srb, the RSK president stated that the reception of men who are fit to join the army will be organized in Serb Republic Army garrisons in Bijeljina, Derventa, and Banja Luka. I have just been informed that we also have a video of the statement RSK President Milan Martic made today.

[Begin Martic recording] The Croatian Army supported by the international community, primarily Germany and the United States, committed an aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina from all directions. It first heavily bombarded all our towns and larger villages. All we could do at the time was to pull out women and children from urban areas to prevent large-scale casualties.

I immediately appealed both to the international community and to the FRY, which is bound by the Vance Plan to protect the territory and the people. I still do not know how they will respond to my appeal, but Croatia caused the suffering of our civilian population, sparing no means. It used poison gas, aircraft, it pounded refugee convoys. I heard that the latest attack happened yesterday in the area of Petrovac (?Bravski), where the air force attacked a refugee convoy. The world did not react to that.

However, even in this difficult situation, and if anybody is having a hard time it is of course myself, I remained here, as you see. I do not want to pull out. I must commend all those brave soldiers who are still here and who do not want to withdraw. We have many soldiers in the woods.

I would like to use this opportunity to appeal to all patriots, inhabitants of all Serb lands, all expatriates, to come back, to defend their homeland, the Republic of Serb Krajina. I do not, nor will I ever recognize occupation. And as long as a single inhabitant of the Krajina is alive, we must not recognize that occupation. We must do everything to return to our homes where we have lived for centuries. I am convinced we can do that.

When the civilians are taken care of, it is the duty of every soldier to respond to this appeal so that we can return to our homes. I appeal to everyone. I will stay here, though we are partially surrounded. I am not afraid and we have nothing to be afraid of. The Croatian Army is not so powerful and mighty. Indeed, their artillery is superior, but we do have our hearts and I hope that we will be motivated to fight. I am convinced that we can overcome this ordeal. [end recording]

Rejects 'Ustasha' Gains

LD0908182395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Aug (SRNA)—Speaking in Banja Luka today, Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], rejected any possibility of recognizing "the outcome of the Ustasha aggression" and announced a victorious return to Knin.

At a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists, Martic said that he "briefly came to" Banja Luka to consult with the Serb Republic leadership regarding further plans, and added that he was rejoining his soldiers straight away.

Martic was convinced that the Krajina Serb Army [SVK] would recapture the occupied parts of Krajina because all able-bodied people, as far as he has been told, "were ready to return and serve their units as soon as they have dealt with their families' accommodation."

Explaining the reasons for the sudden and quick fall of a large portion of the RSK, Martic said that "for days before the aggression he was begging the Serbian leadership to make one single statement and threaten Tudjman not to try and attack Krajina."

"The mass exodus of the people from Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, and Banija took place because the people felt they had been deceived and abandoned by mother Serbia," said Martic and recalled that according to the Vance plan the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was obliged to protect the Serb Krajina.

He backed the above statement by referring to the "claims by some influential world figures, including Akashi, that they have received guarantees that Milosevic does not want to interfere in the conflict, which has also been reported by the Croatian media."

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Stressing that "Croatia will go through real hell over the next few days," Martic added that "General Mile Mrksic, commander of the SVK General Staff, was near Banija and Kordun intending to save and evacuate the civilians from every Ustasha encirclement and preserve the bridgehead at Dvor na Uni."

Finally, the RSK president denied allegations about a split between the Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, and Gen. Ratko Mladic, saying that "these and similar disputes were masterminded by Serbia."

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Government 'Very Concerned' About Balkans

AU0908193795 Skopje MIC in English 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At yesterday's Government news conference, in response to a journalist's question as to why the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Government did not react, that is to say, whether it will react at all to the latest developments in Croatia and Bosnia, Minister Gjuner Ismail said that the government, as always in the case of war, was very concerned.

"The government is kept up-to-date with the escalation of the events in Croatia and Bosnia," Minister-spokesman Gjuner said. "We are carefully following all those events and as always in cases of war, we are concerned, especially since that war is taking place on the territories of former Yugoslavia, i.e. between its former federal units. It is clear that military outcomes do not benefit anyone, everyone loses in a war," Minister Ismail said, stressing that "We are still firm in our belief that the mutual recognition of the states within the borders of the former federation is the starting point for any kind of peaceful solution to the so-called Yu-crisis."

Serb Party Condemns 'Genocide' in Krajina

AU0908193695 Skopje MIC in English 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At a news conference yesterday, the Democratic Party of the Serbs in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], expressing joint stances with the Association of the Serbs and Montenegrins, condemned the "genocide over the Serbian people carried out under the auspices of the United Nations, the United States, and Germany." They also sent out an appeal for Macedonia to show good will and to send help to the Serb victims in medicine, money and food.

It was said that the latest developments in Serb Krajina not only jeopardize the Serbianship, but also Orthodoxy at large.

Justice Minister Announces War on Crime

AU1008060895 Skopje MIC in English 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Two days ago, the government adopted several types of starting programs on crime prevention. Namely, the program for the prevention of corruption in the administrative and public services, for organized crime, drugs trade and money laundering. Justice Minister Vlado Popovski, in announcing the "continued fight against organized crime" which was opened by the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] government two days ago, at a news conference yesterday, specified the focal points of the government's activities, as well as the goals and tasks of the Justice Ministry, as part of the project.

As first, within 15-20 days, as the minister pointed out, the Ministry of Justice will offer operative programs for each of these fields, with deadlines for their execution.

Following the example of other countries, the government will also form separate bodies, instructed to prepare detailed programs for all fields, and which would also have the task to study the crime sources and its expansion. In addition, at a state level, a council for crime prevention will be formed, as well as local councils for that purpose, which would include officials from the local self-management.

These bodies, as Popovski emphasized, are expected to make some necessary changes in the material-criminal law, the law on criminal procedure and to dimension the equipment of the prosecutors' offices, the courts, prisons and police. In this context, the government placed a special emphasis on the role and place of the police in crime prevention. Other than that, prevention commissions for bribes and corruption in the state administration and the public organs are also planned in the municipalities, while at a republic level, there is an independent state organ for analyzes and achievements. In the prevention of money laundering, due to the lack of specialists, bank experts will be included.

Two days ago, the government also decided to form a Ministry of Trade. "The idea is to unite the activities surrounding the handling of the foreign politics, rationalization of the administration with the citizens and legal subjects and coordination of the activities toward the foreign-trade subjects, as part of the executive power," Economy Minister Risto Ivanov told the news conference yesterday. In this sense, it is proposed to issue only one sole document which would have to be shown to the customs organs, and which would go into use from January 1, next year. The to-date procedure for foreign-trade activities, which included up to 15 state organs, as Ivanov emphasized, will be shortened some 30% with the formation of this ministry, Ivanov said.

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Explanation of Term-Extension Proposal Expected

LD1008105495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0931 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 10 August (PAP)—Lech Walesa expects that in the immediate future, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy will give explanations to all insinuations connected with the proposal to extend the president's term of office, Presidential spokesman Leszek Spalinski told PAP after today's telephone conversation between the president and the prime minister.

The spokesman said: "The conclusion of this conversation is as follows: President Lech Walesa expects that in the immediate future, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy will publicly explain everything as regards the proposal for extending the presidential term of office, especially the insinuations that this suggestion originated at the presidential palace. The president expects that the prime minister's statement for the media will be as complete as possible."

SLD 'Least Interested' in Delaying Election

WS0908120695 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 Aug 95 p 1

[Commentary by chief editor Dariusz Szymczycha under the "One Hundred Words" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the season of political inactivity, people's brains move slowly. A good example is the commotion over postponing President Walesa's term of office. When such ideas came from the Belweder, politicians remained silent. However, when GAZETA WYBORCZA suggested that there was an agreement between the president and the coalition, a tremendous outcry was raised: that it is an attempt on something, that it is a conspiracy, and that it shows disrespect for democracy.

The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] was unanimously singled out as the culprit. The thing is that it is SLD that is the least interested in prolonging the incumbent president's mandate. Walesa's destructive activities, manifestations of enmity toward "postcommunists," vetoing of important laws, and, last but not least, election forecasts—all this compels the SLD to act in line with the democratic schedule. After all, the SLD candidate has the greatest chance of success today.

The situation of the president himself is certainly different. In addition, statements made by [Sejm Speaker] Jozef Zych do not dispel fears concerning the real intentions of the Polish Peasant Party, which wants to—but does not—have a presidential candidate who would unite the party. This is where one might try to find politicians interested in postponing the elections. However, it is worth remembering that the law does not permit that.

Soldiers Reportedly Forced To Support Walesa

WS0908120395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Jerzy Jachowicz: "Order: Sign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Politics in the barracks: We know of three Vistula military units in which commanders coerced soldiers to sign their names on lists of Lech Walesa supporters.*

In the largest unit in Warsaw, signing one's name in support of Lech Walesa was required in order to receive pay. The Vistula Military Units—approximately 12,000 men, subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and used for protecting governmental and presidential buildings—are considered to be "the armed extension of the president." Lech Walesa attempted to turn them into his National Guard two years ago.

Signatures at the Pay Desk

Two professional soldiers from Unit 2610 on Podchorazych Street in Warsaw told us yesterday that in mid-July commanders asked officers and cadets to persuade their subordinates to support Walesa's candidacy. "It was not an order; rather, an offer we could not refuse," smiles one of the warrant officers.

At the end of July, the company commanders distributed A-4 letter-size sheets of paper—one per platoon—headed: "I support Lech Walesa for president." They had no stamp or any other identification mark that could point to their origins. Each had rubrics for names, identification series and numbers, exact addresses, and signatures.

The lists were initially deposited with commanders of the subunits where signatures were collected. At the end of July, on pay day, the lists were laid out at the pay desk. Subunit commanders kept watch. They made no bones about it: "Sign the list and you will get your money; if not, we shall see."

"Apart from that, they threatened they would send us off to the 'green garrisons' [very remote outposts]. A staggering majority signed—at least 120 men in my battalion alone. Only those who, like myself, were on leave got off the hook," says the warrant officer.

Several men were brave enough to refuse to sign. They did not receive their pay. Only after several days were they asked to come to the pay desk and given their money.

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One of the contenders was a first lieutenant commanding a specialized subunit. "As a commander I had to submit the list of signatures on 31 July at 1400. I know that on 1 August all the lists were handed to Brigade Commander Colonel Jan Budnik who coordinated the whole operation."

We recorded the accounts of two officers who asked to remain anonymous. They said they are prepared to repeat their stories to Andrzej Milczanowski, minister of internal affairs

Signatures in the Woods

The same Warsaw-based warrant officer told us how signatures were collected in the military unit in Gora Kalwaria [near Warsaw] according to an account by a young first lieutenant. The commander took the whole battalion—officers and cadets included—out into the woods. In curt military style he said he supports Lech Walesa's candidacy and had a list with him that he had just signed and that he now wanted others to do the same.

"What did you do? Did you sign it?" our interlocutor asked his friend from Gora Kalwaria.

"What else could I do? Everyone signed," the first lieutenant replied.

Investigations in Czerwony Bor

In yesterday's GAZETA WYBORCZA, we reported that similar pressure is being exerted on enlisted men at the military unit in Czerwony Bor. The instigator was Lieutenant Colonel Stanislaw Rasala. We learned about this from Union of Labor [UP] Deputy Artur Smolka, member of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs.

We unofficially learned that after our publication of the news, Admiral Marek Toczek, chief commander of the Vistula Military Units, urgently recalled Lieutenant Colonel Rasala from his holiday. We do not know what he told him.

Rasala allegedly ordered his officers to carry out undercover investigations so as to find the source of the leak.

UP Deputies Zbigniew Bujak, head of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs, and Artur Smolko met with Colonel Henryk Jasik, deputy minister of internal affairs and the head of the Vistula Military Units to discuss the case of Czerwony Bor.

Smolko claims Admiral Toczek denied his cadres were collecting signatures. Once he was presented with the facts, he said he would examine the issue. He assured that on 10 August, on Polish Armed Forces Day, he will condemn such activities during a meeting with the military cadres.

Deputy Minister Jasik stated that if the reports are confirmed, the initiators of the signature operation will be punished.

"There is no doubt that this is a large-scale operation and that it was initiated by the command cadres with the knowledge and approval of Admiral Marek Toczek," Smolko told us. The affair has all the trademarks of a scandal. The Armed Forces are being involved in politics; human rights are being violated.

As we may remember, signatures were collected in the Vistula Military Units in support of candidates from the pro-Walesa Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms in the election campaign of 1993. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the defense minister at the time, nearly lost his post when he attempted to punish the initiator of the operation, General Julian Lewinski, commander of the Warsaw units. The president protected Lewinski, and all Onyszkiewicz could do was issue an instruction prohibiting carrying out election campaigns in the Armed Forces.

Daily on Scale, Combating of Money Laundering

WS0908133095 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Aug 95 p 18

[Article by Piotr Orlik: "How To Clear Money of Suspicion; Perfect Laundering"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Over three years, banks informed prosecutors' offices about money laundering on 32 occasions. None of these cases have as yet found their way into a court of law.*

Even though no one in Poland has as yet been convicted of money laundering, it is naive to think that our financial system does not have to cope with this problem. In line with some estimates, as much as $2 billion have been laundered on the Polish market since 1990. The National Bank of Poland [NBP] estimates the amount of money laundered in Poland at $2 to $3 billion a year.

A solid money laundering process consists of three phases. In the first phase the most important thing is to conceal any links of the money to the offense that has been committed. The money is deposited in small amounts in as many bank accounts as possible. At this point it is exchanged for bigger bills, converted into a different currency or precious stones. A frequently used technique is to hide illegal cash in stocks or bonds.

The money that has been thus accepted by a Polish bank is then sent to banking accounts in many countries; afterward, after more than a dozen transfers, it is finally transferred to a single account. Then it returns to Poland,

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as repayment of a loan, for example. In the process of perfect laundering, at one point or another a tax should be paid on the money, because in this way the state provides it with a "morality certificate."

Polish "dirty money" most often comes from tax offenses, extortion, smuggling, and the drug trade. Our police, prosecutors' offices, and banks are familiar with more than a dozen cases of laundering money that resulted from crimes.

The techniques that are mentioned most often are as follows: a trade contract where the remuneration is too high, fictitious fines and damages in transactions among companies, sale of a company's stock to another firm by the same shareholder of both companies, buying of more stock of a joint venture by a fictitious foreign shareholder, as well as remittances and depositing money in banks.

Money laundering is easier if one runs a restaurant, exchange house, or antique shop. The cash earned in an illegal business is paid into the banking account as receipts from the legal business.

As of April 1995, Polish banks on 32 occasions sent letters to prosecutors' offices informing these offices about the banks' suspicions of money laundering. None of these cases have found their way into a court of law. Officially it is known that investigations into two cases are under way: one in Warsaw (15 million zlotys [Z] were laundered in two Warsaw banks; the money came from the sale of audio and video equipment smuggled in from the Federal Republic of Germany); the one in Krakow (a group of people is suspected of having laundered Z4 million by exporting diskettes, microprocessors, and software at prices that were many times higher than they should have been).

In line with the law on protection of economic transactions, money laundering is revenue derived from the drug trade, forging of currency, extortion, and the arms trade. According to NBP, this makes it impossible for prosecutors' offices and the police to cope with such offenses as illegal gambling or terrorism.

On the basis of the NBP order of 1992, Polish banks must themselves take a closer look at the "launderers" and run a record of cash payments of more than Z20,000 zlotys.

However, banks are afraid to inform prosecutors' offices about suspicious operations. If such a letter is not confirmed in the ensuing investigation, the customer is entitled to demand damages from the bank, which had no reason to reveal a banking secret. The new banking law bill includes a proposal to exempt banks from civil responsibility for any damages resulting from the unconfirmed information.

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Federal

Third Border Crossing Opened for Refugees

LD0908130995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav authorities have opened up a third border crossing—at Sepak near Bogatic. A fourth border crossing, Karakaj, is soon to be opened to speed up the entry of refugees to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Rade Dubajic, secretary general of the Yugoslav Red Cross, told a news conference today.

"The opening of the new crossings, in addition to the current ones near Sremska Raca and Pavlovica Bridge, will reduce jams and speed up the flow of refugees, who are still being received without any delays. All refugees are given water, food, and medical aid at all three border crossings," Dubajic said.

According to him, 35,000 refugees had crossed into Yugoslavia by 1500 yesterday, when a Yugoslav Red Cross team visited the border crossing of Sremska Raca.

All refugees who cross into Yugoslavia are registered; those who have relatives are sent to join them, while others are sent to one of the reception centers. [passage omitted]

Hungarians Fear Settlement of Refugees in Vojvodina

LD0908135395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina [DZVM] is concerned that the Serb Government will settle, once and for all, refugees from Krajina in Vajdasag [Vojvodina]. By doing so, it would change artificially—and by using force, possibly—the ethnic composition of areas where the majority of the residents are ethnic Hungarians.

Three years ago the Serb Government decided that the number of refugees to be settled in areas where the majority of the residents are ethnic Hungarians should amount to 10 percent of the existing population.

UN Condemned for Turning 'Blind Eye' to Croatia

LD0908114295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1112 GMT 9 Aug 95

[By diplomatic editor Zoran Jevdjovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 9 (TANJUG)—Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina has changed the United Nations role and has made it absurdly marginal, diplomatic circles in Belgrade have stated.

Instead of having the U.N. Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO) in Croatia open the way for a peaceful solution, bestial crimes have been resorted to as a means of deepening mistrust.

The U.N. Security Council was struck dumb by the fact, avoiding its responsibility and turning a blind eye to the grossest ethnic cleansing and the crime of genocide practiced at the close of the 20th century.

Diplomatic circles in Belgrade are wondering what the real U.N. role is, specifically the Security Council role, when it is evident that basic principles upon which the United Nations have been built are being violated. A failure to condemn an aggression makes one an accomplice in brutal violations of human rights.

The Security Council has even failed to condemn Croatia for mass attacks on U.N. peacekeepers, their deaths, and for using them as human shields by making them walk in front of Croatian tanks.

If Croatian troops are still holding hostage U.N. peacekeepers, what should others relying on U.N. protection hope for.

The humanitarian catastrophe triggered by Croatia's aggression and the violation of international law, in particular as regards civilians, unwitnessed in our time, have been condemned even by those who can be regarded as Croatia's patrons.

This, however, has fallen short of prompting an adequate response.

The Security Council has responded in the mildest way possible, by adopting a nonbinding statement which does not even condemn Croatia, as if some unidentified forces were responsible for the whole tragedy.

The countries that have more or less openly backed Croatia's genocide and ethnic cleansing can, however, be easily identified.

This can at least be done on the strength of Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic's recent statement.

Granic, apparently aware of atrocities committed by his country, has hastened to disclose the names of inspirers and advisors of an action that restores confidence through bombing of civilian targets and of refugee columns including women and children.

Moreover, the Security Council has shown no intention to convene a session to deal with all these issues, which it is obliged to do under Article 7 of the U.N. Charter when international peace and security are at stake.

Observers among diplomatic circles in Belgrade are wondering if this means that the double-standard policy

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has been officially recognised in the Security Council, which, under pressure by dominant powers, treats completely differently the same acts elsewhere in the world.

To condemn every time one side alone on the strength of one's ethnic origin is an act of discrimination that violates basic U.N. principles.

At the same time, one cannot but observe that the world continues to punish Yugoslavia despite the country's evident insisting on the policy of peace, which is done with greatest efforts.

With its restrained stance, Yugoslavia is trying to make easier as much as possible the situation that is threatening to escalate into a large-scale war. Yugoslavia's constructive position has been recognised by absolutely all international factors.

From the humanitarian point of view, the influx of more than 100,000 refugees is a reason more to immediately lift the sanctions on Yugoslavia. This is the only guarantee that Yugoslavia will manage to accommodate all who are counting on its help.

If sanctions are not lifted, there could be a humanitarian catastrophe which it will be hard to cope with even with the help of Red Cross organisations and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Last but not the least, if Croatia's aggression and genocide go unpunished and if support for Zagreb continues despite its drastic acts of violence and violations of international peace, it will become evident that advocators of resumption and escalation of bloodshed enjoy direct support.

In that case, the situation can get out of control and it will be hard to predict further developments. This can, however, be prevented by abandoning the double-standard policy, by putting an end to Croatia's war policy and lifting the sanctions on Yugoslavia. This is the only way of calming the situation and finding a negotiated solution.

Islamic Mojahedin Reportedly Fighting in Bosnia

95BA0286U Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 95 p 42

[Article by Boro Djurdjevic: "Mojahedins on the Battlefields of Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Muslim army in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has become a real meeting place for Islamic fanatics from the whole world. The mojahedins, who are teaching the domestic Muslims the ritual slaughtering of infidels and the rigid enforcement of Islamic laws, are mainly concentrated in the most fanatical units, the so-called MOS (Muslim Defensive Forces), and there are several thousand of them. They have been given posts as instructors, religious commissars, and more and more frequently as commanders. The mojahedins have completely the same attitude toward the Croats as they do toward the Serbs. They are guided solely by religious fanaticism.

Green Legionnaires

Since the beginning of the war, there have been several units in the Muslim army that consisted mainly of fighters of the jihad, and recently they have been replenished more and more with domestic Muslims who have gone through the appropriate religious training, that is, they have simply been "drugged" with Islam.

The largest mojahedin units are concentrated primarily in Zenica. The 7th MOS Brigade, which consists mainly of mojahedins, has one battalion stationed in Zenica itself, the so-called green city; it is introducing green terror, that is, it is trying by the use of force to get the citizens to abide by fundamentalist Islamic laws. For example, women in Zenica are not allowed to go out in short skirts, and older women are required to wear the veil. Young men and women do not dare to embrace in public, and those who are found, say, necking in the park or the like are beaten. Young men who wear earrings are also beaten by those "enforcers of Islam," and so forth.

Aside from the 7th MOS Brigade, Zenica is also the headquarters of several other similar units, such as the Green Legion, which is as large as a reinforced battalion, and the Guerrilla Detachment, which has the strength of a battalion.

Members of those units have distinguished themselves in bestiality, especially toward Serbs who did not reach liberated territory in time, and in ritual killings of war prisoners. During the fiercest skirmishes between Muslims and Croats in central Bosnia, they were also the principal executioners.

In Tesanj, there is a mojahedin unit known as Al Mujahadin, which has the strength of a company. Pictures with severed heads of three Serbian fighters from Teslic, above whom members of that unit were standing, went around the entire world in 1992. The mojahedins in Tesanj have established absolute Islamic terror. That terror goes so far that last July they issued an order over the local radio that all girls and women between the ages of 17 and 40 must be married and give birth. A "week of fertilization" was proclaimed as part of that order.

The mojahedin brigade Black Swans, which at the moment has been moved to Vlasic, is stationed in Kakanj;

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a month ago, Alija Izetbegovic himself visited it as his most devoted warriors and religious fanatics before they went off to the front. Incidentally, he arrived there from Sarajevo with the help of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. In Konjic, there is a mojahedin unit called Muderiz, which in translation means Teacher of Islam; it is collaborating most closely with the UNPROFOR battalion from Malaysia, which is stationed there. Thus, last November soldiers of the UNPROFOR from that battalion withdrew and supplied artillery to the locality Zvekuse, east of Konjic, to meet the needs of that mojahedin unit during an attack on Serbian positions. In addition, there are several reception centers for training and "acclimatization" of mojahedins coming from the Islamic countries, but the largest one is in the village Mehurici, about 7 km southeast of Busovaca, in central Bosnia. There is also one in Pazaric, 30 km south of Sarajevo, where an international Islamic brigade was also formed, and in the former resort of the Zenica Steel Mill, Bistricak, which is located about 25 km north of Zenica, and so on.

Cooperation Between UNPROFOR and the Mojahedins

It is interesting that the mojahedin units, made up mostly of citizens of Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Malaysia, Egypt, Algeria, Iran, Libya, and other Islamic countries, are mainly located where the UNPROFOR members from the Islamic countries, above all Turkey, Malaysia, and Pakistan, are located; the latter are actually serving the Muslim army in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Turkish battalions alone, centered in Zenica, have 150 Bosnian and Sandzak Muslims who in 1992 left Bosnia-Herzegovina for Turkey for training and schooling, and now they have come back as alleged members of UNPROFOR within the Turkish battalion. In addition, through the Blue Helmets mojahedins are mobilized in the Islamic countries and brought onto the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina by UNPROFOR transport. This transport is financed by the Islamic countries through a specially established fund, with Saudi Arabia leading the way, and this is done through a bank whose headquarters are on Cyprus. A significant sum is also paid to Croatia for "silence and services," because its territory is used to transport not only mojahedins, but also arms and other war materiel. That materiel is paid for in a specialized Croatian bank whose headquarters are in the Zagreb settlement Sesvete.

The UNPROFOR Command is continuing to tolerate those actions and activities of its own units, and it is almost directly encouraging them. This is done mainly by selective information and inclusion of almost the entire apparatus of the UNPROFOR, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and other international and mainly humanitarian organizations. For example, in one call-in program over the Muslim Radio Bihac on 26 June of last year a listener called in and said: "Our best unit is the Malaysian battalion, after them the French, and only then comes the Buzim Brigade." Those words of the listener tell it all.

Never once have UNPROFOR officials in recent months publicly condemned the Muslim offensive being conducted while the agreement on cessation of hostilities was in effect, but they immediately hurried to react when the Serbian Army halted the Muslim offensive, for example, at Bihac, on Vlasic or Majevica, condemning the Serbs of violating the agreement.

It is no wonder, then, that not a single international institution concerned with respect for international law and the law of warfare has reacted to the existence of foreign mercenaries and to their bestialities committed against Serbs as members of the Muslim army, and under the leadership of the political and religious leader Alija Izetbegovic, who publicly says that he wants to occupy the entire territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and then establish an Islamic government in it under Islamic laws that were in effect before Ataturk's revolution.

Serbia

Milosevic: Rejection of Peace Plan 'Wasted' Year

LD0908155395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received the most responsible state officials of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who are in charge of organizing care and accommodation for citizens from the war-stricken areas of the Republic of Serb Krajina. They informed him about the measures they had taken so far to provide humanitarian aid and other forms of help, as well as about the activities being carried out at a headquarters that had been set up with the aim of coordinating all aid activities.

Praising all those all over our country who are selflessly working around the clock to help the victims of war from the RSK area, President Milosevic said that, for the time being, the most important thing was to help those people and reduce the tragic consequences of the decisions of the leadership from Pale to reject the peace plan.

Our entire public can now easily understand that hundreds of thousands of citizens would have avoided the

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horrors of war if the Vance-Owen plan of two years ago had been accepted, while further hundreds of thousands would have avoided the same had the international community's plan been accepted a year ago.

To make things even worse, those who at that time refused peace are now making every effort to draw the FRY into the war.

Perhaps our public now finally and sufficiently clearly understands why we, in the interests of the entire nation, assumed such a stringent attitude toward the Pale leadership a year ago, President Milosevic said, substantiating it by the current developments and the escalation of the conflict that is now taking place before our eyes.

Therefore, we have to be even more stringent, but also more effective in taking steps for the peace plan to be accepted and for peace to finally prevail, which is the most important national interest of the Serb nation and all of the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Our firm commitment is a persistent policy of peace, to halt the war, not to escalate it. We will do everything in that direction.

The year that is behind us, a tragic year, has been unnecessarily wasted, President Milosevic said. The acceptance of the peace plan and peace initiatives a year ago would have brought peace to the Serb nation in all areas where it lives. All tensions and disagreements, all problems, would have been resolved in a fairer way in peace.

The consequences of the rejection of negotiations are a large number of casualties, the loss of the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, the exodus of the people from this territory, constant bloodshed and conflicts in connection with power and authority in the Bosnian Serb Republic, and the dirty tricks of those inciting war who want to draw the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the war.

It is in the interests of the FRY to preserve peace, safeguard all of its citizens from bloodshed, and preserve the lives of its own children.

Hence, if the policy of peace was topical one year ago, it is 1,000 times more topical today, President Milosevic said at today's meeting with senior state officials.

It was announced that at the meeting it was stated that tasks in terms of providing aid to citizens of the RSK are being carried out efficiently, with the involvement of all factors of society. Today, too, Serbia, as it has done hitherto in all difficult times, is showing great solidarity with the Serb people from war-torn areas.

Thousands Attend Rally To Support Krajina Serbs

LD0908202295 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1916 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Aug (FONET)—A meeting of solidarity with Krajina Serbs began this evening. Several thousand people rallied in Belgrade's Republic Square by singing the national anthem.

The rally was organized by the association of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serb committee for the defense of rights and freedoms, representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, humanitarian associations, and political parties.

The organizers have drawn up a declaration that is to be sent from this evening's rally to the FRY and Serbian presidents, and to the federal and republican parliaments.

The declaration demands the urgent lifting of the blockade along the Drina and other forms of sanctions against the Bosnian Serb Republic and the convocation of an extraordinary session of the federal and republican parliaments, and a meeting between the presidents of Serbia, Montenegro, the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina in order to remove mutual disagreements.

The declaration also calls, in these emergency circumstances, caused, it says, by "detrimental policies of the highest political and state authorities, for the formation of a government of national salvation, which will halt the breakup of the state and the demise of the nation."

Pro-Krajina Meeting Adopts Declaration of Demands

LD0908235695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2310 GMT 9 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Aug (SRNA)—The meeting of solidarity with the Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] adopted a declaration on Belgrade's Republic Square this evening, which SRNA carries in full:

"Citizens, representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, homeland associations, humanitarian organizations, and political parties, gathered at the great meeting of solidarity with the Serbs from the Serb Krajina on Republic Square on 9 August 1995, demand:

"—that the shameful blockade on the Drina and all other forms of sanctions against the Serb Republic [RS] be lifted immediately;

"—that an emergency session of the federal and republican parliaments be convened;

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"—that the presidents of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, the RS, and the RSK meet immediately;

"—that a government of national salvation, with the aim of halting the disintegration of the state and the destruction of the people, be set up in this emergency situation, caused above all by the perilous policy of the top political and state bodies."

The declaration has been submitted to the presidents and parliaments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

Opposition Parties Blame Milosevic for Krajina

AU1008093395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade NASA BORBA carries on page 8 of its 8 August issue several reports citing Serbian opposition parties' reactions to the Croatian Army offensive against Krajina.

The Serbian Liberal Party draws attention to the "ruling parties's propaganda machinery, which is trying to transfer the blame for the bloody exodus of the Krajina Serbs from Tudjman and Milosevic to Radovan Karadzic." The party goes on to say that "Croatian General Tolj's statement that the Krajina Serbs were a bargaining chip and Stipe Mesic's statement that Slobodan Milosevic had promised Tudjman that he would not intervene in the event of a Croatian military offensive clearly shows who is most to blame for the largest ethnic cleansing in Serbian history."

The Serbian Radical Party of Montenegro issued a statement signed by Drago Bakrac, president of the party's Executive Committee, asking "why are Messrs. Milosevic and Bulatovic silent in the face of the Krajina Serbs' suffering? Did the presidents perhaps give their former colleague Tudjman the green light?" The party statement also says that "the Serbian Radical Party of Montenegro warned long ago how the situation would develop in the Serb Krajinas across the Drina River and that recent events have confirmed their beliefs."

The Democratic Party of Serbia held an extraordinary press conference at which party president Vojislav Kostunica said that "such extraordinary circumstances call for a responsible parliamentary debate." Kostunica went on to say that "the events in the Knin part of the Republic of Serb Krajina are reminiscent of events in Western Slavonia" and that "the Serb people have three opponents: First, the Croats, who abandoned the peace process first by intervening in Western Slavonia, and then by rejecting the Z-4 plan, to which Babic on the Serb side had agreed. The second opponent is the international community. This assessment calls for concrete names such as the United States, Germany, and the practically nonexistent UN Security Council. The biased stance of the current administration testifies to this." According to Kostunica, the third opponent of the Serb nation is "official Belgrade and Slobodan Milosevic's regime, which has conducted policy in a dictatorial and overbearing manner, without regard for constitutional authority, and by grossly underestimating the role of international factors. Today, Slobodan Milosevic's regime is disowning a part of the people, instigating fresh rifts within the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina], and calling on the international community to protect the people in the Krajina as though they were not Serbs but some distant and indifferent [indiferentan] people."

The party believes that Belgrade's "more resolute stance" would have "forced" Tudjman to think more carefully about choosing between war and peace. Furthermore, the party believes that current Krajina events represent "a great political fiasco for the Belgrade regime and Slobodan Milosevic. The result of his policy is a Krajina without Serbs, a Croatian Krajina rather than a Serb Krajina."

DSS's Kostunica Calls Milosevic Tudjman's Ally

AU1008070195 Paris AFP in English 0026 GMT 10 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 10 (AFP)—Opposition leaders here on Wednesday [9 August] accused Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic of treason for his failure to prevent the the destruction by Croatian forces of a separatist Serb republic in Krajina.

The accusations came during a rally of several thousand people called by the opposition and the Serbian Orthodox Church to show solidarity with the Croatian Serbs of Krajina, who are now fleeing their homes for Bosnia and Serbia in their tens of thousands.

But the gathering quickly became a forum for denouncing what one speaker called "the erroneous policies" of Milosevic, who has been castigated by Serb leaders in Bosnia and elsewhere for failing to commit Serbian troops to fight for the self-proclaimed Republic of Serb Krajina.

Vojislav Kostunica of the Serb Democratic Party [Democratic Party of Serbia—DSS] accused Milosevic of "treason" and "complicity" with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

"Tudjman's ally sits in Belgrade and he's called Slododan Milosevic," declared Kostunica, as the crowd chanted: "Treason! Treason!"

"After the occupation of Krajina by Croatia," said Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Party, "there must be a

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federation proclaimed between Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Bosnian Serb Republic. The Serbs have the right to do it and no one in the world could challenge them."

The rally called for the formation of "a government of national salvation" that, according to one participant, would be capable of "halting the collapse of the state."

In another development, the first aircraft in an air bridge to bring humanitarian aid to Croatian Serb refugees touched down here Wednesday, officials with the International Committee of the Red Cross announced.

The aircraft, an Antonov-12 chartered by the ICRC, arrived from Zagreb carrying 20 tonnes [metric tons] of supplies, notably water and tents.

Francois Stamm, head of the ICRC delegation here, said the aid would be tranpsorted by road on Thursday to Bijeljina, a Serb[-held] town in northeast Bosnia.

The aircraft is to leave Belgrade Thursday for Banja Luka in northwest Bosnia with food and surgical supplies for refugees there.

Radical Party: Milosevic Betraying B-H Serbs

AU0908151195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 4

[Statement by Serbian Radical Party: "Milosevic Is Announcing a Betrayal of Bosnian Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Such a quick fall of the Republic of Serbian Krajina into Croatian hands is the best proof of the high treason of Slobodan Milosevic, who had appointed his own man, General Mrksic, as chief of staff of the Krajina army, not to defend Serb Krajina but to evacuate the population and hand the territory over to the Croatian soldiers.

The latest reactions by members of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], such as those by Borisav Jovic and Zoran Andjelkovic, who had guaranteed the safety of the Republic of Serbian Krajina when the Vance plan was accepted, show that the ruling regime and its representatives are at a complete political loss.

To blame others for their own treason, cowardice, servility, and inadequacy has been and still is the manner in which the SPS acts.

The Serbian Radical Party is warning the public in Serbia that the map that has been presented in the media as Tudjman's partitioning of Bosnia is in fact Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's attempt at announcing quietly the betrayal of the Bosnian Krajina and other parts of the Serb Republic, which Milosevic has decided to hand to the enemy.

Official on Efforts To Alleviate Refugee Plight

AU0908150695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 95

[Statement by Pavle Todorovic, deputy head of the Federal Headquarters for Humanitarian Aid; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Todorovic] You notice that we do not talk about refugees because one cannot flee one's own country; we tend to talk about expelled and exiled persons. The comprehensive model and organization involved in resolving this grave humanitarian problem and exodus of Serb people—humanitarian catastrophe—must be divided into several groups of questions.

First, how to provide these people, this mass of people, who have set off and have partially already arrived in Yugoslavia and who wish to come to Yugoslavia with adequate accommodation and how to alleviate the suffering they have gone through in the past few days, when they fled Knin and other places amid bombs and shells, and when they fled the rocketing and bombing of refugee columns only to reach our territory. I believe that, if one can say so, the situation is under control. They [words indistinct] and accommodation. Our people's response is unbelievable; we have once again demonstrated this [changes thought]; there is not a house nor a community that has not responded wholeheartedly to the aid appeal.

The second group of questions involve more permanent accommodation for those whom we believe will stay here. The third group of questions is a group of classic political questions, and it pertains to the struggle for our territory and the further resolution of the general Yugoslav crisis.

Departure of Volunteers for Krajina Delayed

AU0908205995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by D.P.: "Volunteers Stayed Here but Will Be Leaving"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The volunteers who were invited by the Association of Fighters of the 1990 War and who planned to travel to the war regions in the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] have stayed in Belgrade. Yesterday at 0530, only a dozen of them came to the meeting place in front of the Hotel Bristol near the railway station, although many more have reported to go since the attack on the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Therefore, the buses did not leave for Krajina.

Poor response is not the only reason the volunteers have stayed in Belgrade. As we were told by retired Major

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General Ljubomir Bajic, head of the operational staff of the Association of Fighters of 1990 for Help to the RSK, all connections and contacts with the headquarters of the Krajina Serb Army were interrupted until yesterday morning, so they could not send the fighters "blindly." Yesterday, however, connections with the headquarters of the Krajina Serb Army were resumed, so future contacts will be established through them.

We have unofficially learned that the volunteers will nevertheless be sent to Petrovac, where a volunteer unit is being created.

We have been asked by the Staff for Help for the RSK—due to the total blockade in the media—to publish their appeal to all people who wish to go to Krajina voluntarily, whatever their reasons, to report most urgently to the Association's office, Nikola Pasic Square 3/3 (telephone 343-561). There they will fill out the statement on voluntarily joining in, under the command of the headquarters of the Krajina Serb Army, and be given further information about departure. Volunteers are also asked not to come to meeting places dressed in uniforms because of, as we were told, the possibility of the whole bus being sent back from the border crossings toward Bosnia and Krajina because of them.

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